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THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT  
OF GLORIA  
IN EARLY-CHRISTIAN LATIN

by

A. J. Vermeulen

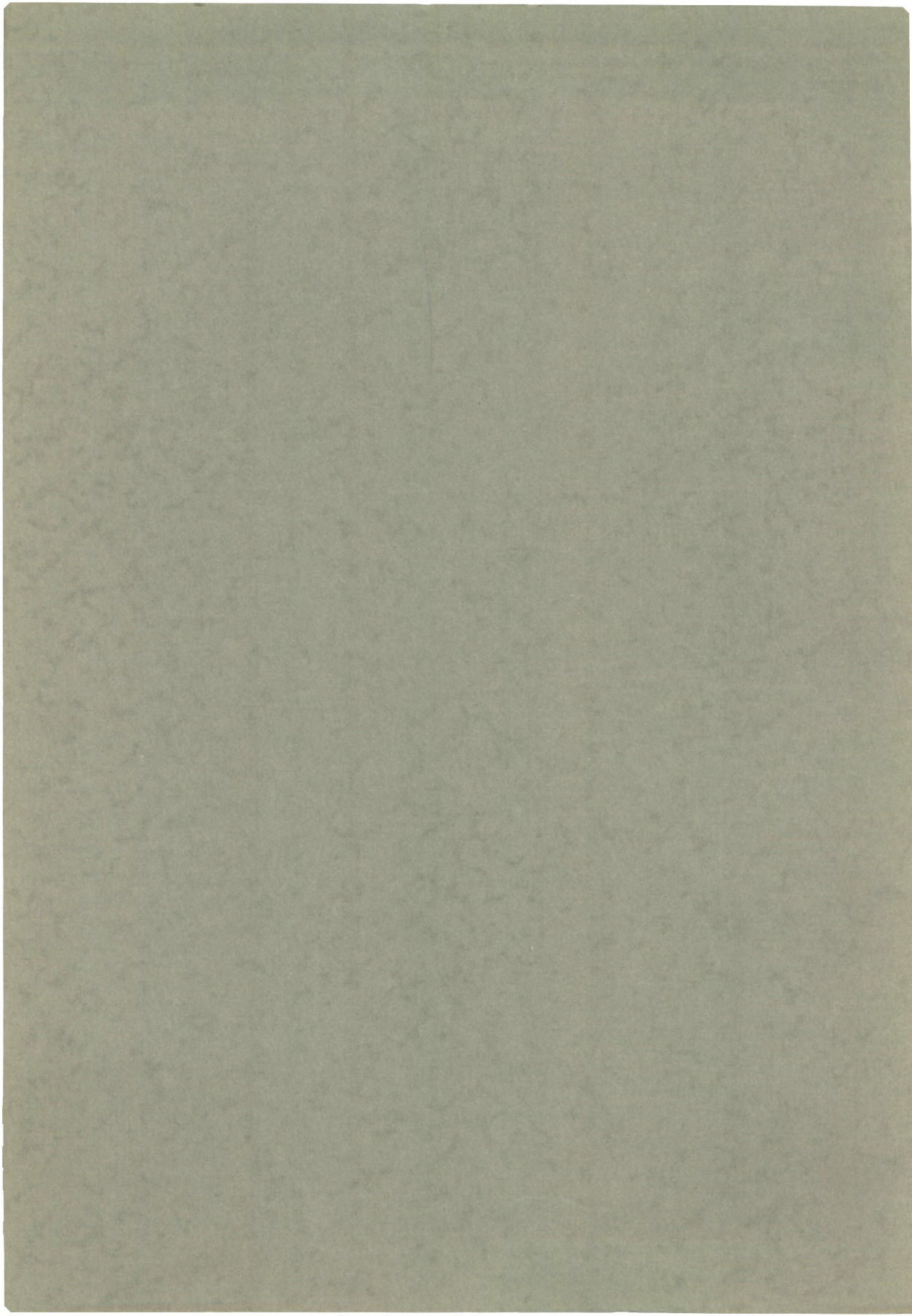
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UTRECHT

DEKKER & VAN DE VEGT, N.V.

NIJMEGEN





THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF GLORIA  
IN EARLY-CHRISTIAN LATIN



**Promotor: PROF. DR. CHR. A. E. M. MOHRMANN**

# THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT OF GLORIA IN EARLY-CHRISTIAN LATIN

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*AAN MIJN VADER EN MOEDER*

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## CONTENTS

List of abbreviations . . . . .	X
Latin texts . . . . .	XI
Bibliography . . . . .	XIV
List of plates . . . . .	XXII
Introduction . . . . .	1
CHAPTER I, GLORIA IN THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE . . . . .	5
1. The Greek text of the Bible . . . . .	5
a) <i>Kabod</i> . . . . .	6
b) <i>Δόξα</i> . . . . .	11
2. The 'Vetus Latina' . . . . .	18
3. The Vulgate . . . . .	24
CHAPTER II, THE ORIGIN OF A NEW CHRISTIAN CONCEPT: GLORY OR RENOWN IN THE EYES OF GOD . . . . .	28
A. The pagan ideal of glory . . . . .	29
B. The Christian attitude towards the profane ideal of glory . . . . .	37
1. Tertullian and St. Cyprian . . . . .	37
2. St. Ambrose . . . . .	43
3. St. Augustine . . . . .	47
4. St. Leo the Great . . . . .	52
VII	



C. <i>Gloria martyrum</i> . . . . .	53
1. Tertullian . . . . .	53
2. St. Cyprian . . . . .	64
3. Other sources before 400 A.D. . . . .	74
4. St. Ambrose . . . . .	76
5. St. Augustine . . . . .	80
6. St. Leo the Great . . . . .	90
7. The <i>Gloria martyrum</i> in early-Christian art . . . . .	91
D. <i>Gloria martyrum</i> in its wider sense . . . . .	96
1. Tertullian . . . . .	96
2. St. Cyprian . . . . .	96
3. St. Ambrose . . . . .	99
4. St. Augustine . . . . .	100
5. St. Leo the Great . . . . .	103
6. <i>Gloriosissimus</i> as a title . . . . .	104
E. <i>Gloria Dei</i> . . . . .	108
1. Tertullian . . . . .	108
2. St. Cyprian . . . . .	109
3. St. Ambrose . . . . .	110
4. St. Augustine . . . . .	111
5. St. Leo the Great . . . . .	114
6. The <i>Gloria Christi</i> in early-Christian art . . . . .	115
F. Concluding remarks: The significance of renown as a vital element in the lives of the Christians before and after the Edict of Toleration . . . . .	124

## CHAPTER III, BIBLICAL GLORIA AND THE WESTERN CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF GLORY . . . . . 134

A. Tertullian . . . . .	135
1. Biblical <i>gloria</i> . . . . .	135
2. The fusion of biblical <i>gloria</i> and the idea of renown . . . . .	137
3. Cognate words: <i>claritas</i> and <i>maiestas</i> . . .	140
B. St. Cyprian . . . . .	143
1. <i>Gloria</i> . . . . .	143
2. <i>Claritas</i> . . . . .	143
3. <i>Maiestas</i> . . . . .	146
C. St. Ambrose . . . . .	147
1. <i>Gloria Dei</i> . . . . .	149
2. <i>Gloria Christi</i> . . . . .	153
a. <i>Gloria Divinitatis</i> . . . . .	153
b. <i>Gloria Passionis et Resurrectionis</i> .	155
c. <i>Claritas Solis aeterni</i> . . . . .	156
3. <i>Gloria hominis</i> . . . . .	175
4. Résumé . . . . .	182
D. St. Augustine . . . . .	184
1. <i>Gloria Dei</i> . . . . .	187
2. <i>Gloria Christi</i> . . . . .	191
3. <i>Gloria hominis</i> . . . . .	208
4. Résumé . . . . .	212
E. St. Leo the Great . . . . .	214

CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE CONCEPT OF <i>GLORIA</i> ABOUT 400 A.D. IN EARLY-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND ART. ITS SURVIVAL IN THE LITURGY . . . . .	221
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SAMENVATTING . . . . .	231
INDEX . . . . .	238

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Antike und Christentum, I-VI, Münster 1929-1941.
ALMA	Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi, Bruxelles 1924ff.
BR	Breviarium Romanum.
BSAF	Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, Paris.
C. Chr.	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, Turnholti 1954ff.
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Wien 1866ff.
DACL	F. CABROL—H. LECLERCQ—(H. I. MARROU), Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie, Paris 1907ff.
DTC	A. VACANT—E. MANGENOT—E. AMANN, Dictionnaire de la théologie catholique, Paris 1907ff.
GCS	Griechische Christliche Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Berlin-Leipzig, 1897ff.
HEFM	A. FLICHE—V. MARTIN, Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Paris 1937ff.
KJ	Kebod Yahveh.
LXX	Septuagint.
MR	Missale Romanum.
NT	New Testament.
OT	Old Testament.
OW	Origenes' Werke, GCS.
PG	Patrologia Graeca, edid. J. P. MIGNE, 1-161, Paris 1857-1886.
PL	Patrologia Latina, edid. J. P. MIGNE, 1-201, editio prior, 1844-1864.
RB	Revue bénédictine, Maredsous, 1884ff.
REL	Revue des Etudes latines, Paris 1922ff.
RPh	Revue de Philologie, de Littérature et d'Histoire anciennes, Paris 1877ff.
RSPH	Revue de Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Paris 1907ff.
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris 1910ff.
VC	Vigiliae Christianae, Amsterdam 1947.
WM	J. WILPERT, Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms, 2 vol., Freiburg i.Br. 1903.
WMM	J. WILPERT, Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom 4. bis 13. Jahrhundert, 4 vol., Freiburg i.Br. 1917.
WS	J. WILPERT, I Sarcofagi cristiani antichi, 2 vol., Roma 1929.
T.W.	G. KITTEL, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, Stuttgart 1933ff.



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*Quinti Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Opera*, Pars I *Opera Catholica, Adversus Marcionem*, Pars II *Opera Montanistica*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, I, II, Turnholti 1954.

*Passio SS. Perpetuae et Felicitatis*:

C. VAN BEEK, Nijmegen 1936.

Cyprianus:

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, 3, 1-3, HARTEL, Wien 1868/1871.

*Acta Proconsularia S. Cypriani*:

CSEL, 3,3, HARTEL, Wien 1871, p. CXff.

*Vita Caecilia Cypriani*:

CSEL, 3,3, HARTEL, Wien 1871, p. XC-CX.

Novatianus:

*De Trinitate*, W. Y. FAUSSET, Cambridge 1909.

*Epistulae* 30,31,36, inter opera S. Cypriani, CSEL, 3,2, HARTEL, Wien 1871, p. 549-556, 557-564, 572-579.

Ambrosius:

*De Abraham*, CSEL, 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 3-261.

*Apologia prophetae David*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 299-355.

*Apologia David altera*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 359-408.

*De bono mortis*, CSEL, 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 703-753.

*De Cain et Abel*, CSEL, 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 339-409.

*Epistulae*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 876-1286.

*De excessu fratris Satyri lib. II*, CSEL, 73, O. FALLER, Wien 1955, p. 207ff.

*Exhortatio virginis*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 335-364.

*De fide*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 527-698.

*De fuga saeculi*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 163-207.

*De Helia et senio*, CSEL 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 411-465.

*Hexameron*, CSEL, 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 3-261.

*De Iacob et vita beata*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 3-70.

*De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 817-884.

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<sup>1)</sup> In quoting Latin texts we adhere to the system adopted by the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and use the same abbreviations.

The C Chr. is not consistent in its numbering of the lines. The lines are sometimes numbered according to the pages and sometimes according to the chapters, often the lines are numbered as in the CSEL.

*De institutione virginis*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 305-334.  
*De interpellatione Iob et David*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 211-296.  
*De Ioseph patriarcha*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 73-122.  
*De Isaac vel anima*, CSEL, 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 641-700.  
*Expositio evangelii sec. Lucam*, CSEL, 32,4, SCHENKL, Wien 1902.  
*De mysteriis*, B. BOTTE, Sources Chrétiennes 15, Paris 1950, p. 108-128.  
*De Nabutha*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 469-516.  
*De Noe et arca*, CSEL, 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 413-497.  
*De obitu Theodosii oratio*, M. MANNIX, Patristic Studies 9, Washington 1925.  
*De obitu Valentiniani consolatio*, TH. KELLY, Patristic Studies 62, Washington 1941.  
*De officiis ministrorum*, J. G. KRABINGER, Tübingen 1857.  
*De paenitentia*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 465-524.  
*De paradiso*, CSEL 32,1, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 265-336.  
*De patriarchis*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 125-160.  
*Enarrationes in XII psalmos Davidicos*, CSEL, 64, PETSCHENIG, Wien 1919.  
*Expositio in psalmum CXVIII*, CSEL, 62, PETSCHENIG, Wien 1913.  
*De sacramentis*, B. BOTTE, Sources Chrétiennes 15, Paris 1950, p. 53-107.  
*De Spiritu Sancto*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 703-816.  
*De Tobia*, CSEL, 32,2, SCHENKL, Wien 1897, p. 519-573.  
*De viduis*, MIGNE, Parisiis 1845, PL 16, 233-302.  
*De virginibus*, O. FALLER, Florilegium Patristicum 31, Bonn 1933.  
*De virginitate*, MIGNE, Parisiis, 1845, PL 16, 265-302.

#### Augustinus:

*Contra Academicos*, CSEL, 63, KNÖLL, Wien 1922, p. 3-81.  
*Contra Adimantum Manichaei discipulum*, CSEL, 25,1, ZYCHA, Wien 1891, p. 115-190.  
*De adulterinis coniugiis*, CSEL, 41, ZYCHA, Wien 1900, p. 347-410.  
*De Baptismo contra Donatistas 1. VII*, CSEL, 51, PETSCHENIG, Wien 1908, p. 145-375.  
*De catechizandis rudibus*, JOSEPH PATRICK CHRISTOPHER, Patristic Studies 8, Washington 1926.  
*De civitate Dei*, B. DOMBART & A. KALB, Leipzig 1928-1929<sup>4</sup>.  
*Confessiones*, M. SKUTELLA, Leipzig 1934.  
*De consensu Evangelistarum 1. IV*, CSEL, 43, WEIHRICH, Wien 1904.  
*De diversis quaestionibus LXXXIII*, MIGNE, PL 40, 11-100.  
*Epistulae*, CSEL, 34,1; 34,2; 44; 57; GOLDBACHER, Wien 1895, 1898, 1904, 1923.  
*Contra epistolam Manichaei quam vocant „fundamenti“*, CSEL, 25,1, ZYCHA, Wien 1891, p. 193-248.  
*In Iohannis epistolam ad Parthos tractatus X*, MIGNE, PL 35, 1977-2062.  
*Tractatus in Evangelium Iohannis*, MIGNE, PL 35, 1379-1976.  
*Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, CSEL, 25,1, ZYCHA, Wien 1891, p. 251-797.  
*De fide rerum invisibilium*, MIGNE, PL 40, 171-180.

- De fide et symbolo*, CSEL, 41, ZYCHA, Wien 1900, p. 3-32.
- Contra Gaudensium* 1. II, CSEL, 53, URBA & ZYCHA, Wien 1910, p. 201-274
- De Genesi ad litteram*, CSEL, 28,1, ZYCHA, Wien 1894, p. 3-435.
- Adversus Iudaeos*, MIGNE, PL 42, 51-64.
- Contra Iulianum* 1 VI, MIGNE, PL 44, 641-874.
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- De libero arbitrio*, MIGNE, PL 32, 1221-1310.
- Contra epistolam Parmeniani* 1. III, CSEL, 51, PETSCHENIG, Wien 1908, p. 19-141.
- De patientia*, CSEL, 41, ZYCHA, Wien 1900, p. 663-691
- Contra duas epistulas Pelagianorum*, CSEL, 60, URBA & ZYCHA, Wien 1913, p. 423-570.
- De perfectione iustitiae hominis*, CSEL, 42, URBA & ZYCHA, Wien 1902, p. 3-48
- Contra litteras Petilianae* 1. III, CSEL, 52, PETSCHENIG, Wien 1909, p. 3-227.
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## LIST OF PLATES

- Pl. I    *Victor martyr.* Votive mosaic on the vault of San Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan. About 400-410 A.D. After WILPERT, *Mosaiken.*  
p. 80
- Pl. II    *Martyr coronatus.* Reliquary from Aïn Zirara in Numidia. Museo Cristiano del Vaticano. 4th century or beginning 5th century.  
p. 92
- Pl. III    *Vitalis coronatus.* Mosaic in the apse of San Vitale, Ravenna. About 530 A.D.  
p. 94
- Pl. IV    *Damianus martyr* offering his wreath to Christ and led into the heavenly city by the apostle St. Peter. Detail of the mosaic of Felix IV, in the apse of SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome. About 530 A.D. Photo Sibbelee; after F. v. D. MEER, *Rome*, Amsterdam 1950.  
p. 116
- Pl. V    Two sarcophagi from Ravenna,  
a. The adoration of the magi (here the magi are offering their three gifts). Sarcophagus named 'of the exarch Isaac', in San Vitale, Ravenna. After 500 A.D. Photo Anderson 27560.  
b. St. Peter and Paul offering their wreaths to Christ seated on a throne. Sarcophagus named 'of S. Rainaldus', in the Ursiana, Ravenna. Early 5th century. Photo Anderson 27650.  
p. 118
- Pl. VI    *Tropaeum crucis.* Middle niche of the front of sarcophagus 151, Rome. Museo Lateranense. About 350 A.D. Photo Sibbelee; after F. v. D. MEER, *Rome*, Amsterdam 1950.  
p. 120
- Pl. VII    *Gloria Christi.* Central motif of the dome in the baptistery of Soter, Naples. About 400 A.D. After WILPERT, *Mosaiken.*  
p. 122
- Pl. VIII    Wreathed apostle acclaiming Christ's Cross. Detail of the sarcophagus of Manosque. Musée chrétien, Arles. About 360-380 A.D. Photo Th. van Velzen.  
p. 224





## INTRODUCTION

Early-Christian Latin reflects in many respects the peculiar position of the Christians in the ancient civilized world. It devolved upon the early Christians to realize a new spirit and a new attitude to life in an old world. The application of the Christian religion to practical life necessarily distinguished and, to a certain extent, separated the Christians from their pagan environment. Not only the external membership of the Christian Church led to this segregation, but also the different ideology of Christians and pagans was a factor in bringing it about. Although this differentiation affects the whole field of linguistic phenomena, the ideological separation showed itself most markedly in the lexicological and semantic neologisms of early-Christian Latin. New words were coined to indicate ecclesiastical institutions, objects or persons, and frequently existing Greek terms were simply taken over. For ideological concepts, however, they mostly employed existing Latin words such as *fides*, *gratia*, *caritas*. The fact that those words acquired an entirely new content of their own is illustrative of the strong convictions and communal life of the early Christians<sup>1</sup>).

One of those ideological terms was the word *gloria*. This was not just an ordinary, common word in the Latin language of the second century. Perhaps no word had such a fascinating effect on the Romans as this word *gloria*. For centuries it had been the ideal of every person and every community in Rome. And it was this word which the Latin translators of the Bible used as a rendering of the Greek word *δόξα*. At first there was some hesitation about *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas*, but in the Vulgate *gloria* definitely gained the ascendancy. And thus *gloria* became pre-eminently used to express the imposing and dazzling appearance of God in His Might and Majesty. It reminded the Christians of the theophanies

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1) J. SCHRIJNEN, *Charakteristik des altchristlichen Latein*, Nijmegen 1932.  
CHR. MOHRMANN, *Quelques Traits caractéristiques du Latin des chrétiens*, Misc. G. Mercati, Studi e Testi 121, p. 437ff.; *De Latin commun et le latin des chrétiens*, VC 1 (1947), p. 1ff.

of Yahveh to the Jewish people, accompanied by lightning and thunder. It reminded them, too, of the glorification of Christ through His death and resurrection. It also made them look forward to the second coming of Christ on the clouds of heaven, and to the participation of the just in His power and glory.

The classical meaning of *gloria* was far removed from the biblical one, and the change of meaning which the Christians effected was a gradual one. Probably, many simple Christians in the third century did not fully grasp the real meaning of *gloria* in the translations of the Bible. It is beyond a doubt that some Christian writers had no precise notion of it. As an illustrating example we may quote Novatianus, who had enjoyed a one-sided classical education and had not sufficiently penetrated into the biblical sphere of ideas. Even in Tertullian and St. Cyprian *gloria* is but rarely met with in its really biblical meaning. Till the end of the persecutions there were undoubtedly many Christians, who understood *gloria*, when it occurred in the Bible, in the sense of 'honour' or 'renown'. *Gloria Dei* they understood as the honour of God. The *gloria Christi* meant to them the fame which Christ had acquired by His resurrection and His victory over Satan. And by the *gloria hominis* they understood the renown which a Christian could gain by combating the devil and the world, especially if in this combat he gave his life for God. Thus a new concept arose, the Christian concept of glory; and this was new in that it did not signify fame or renown in the eyes of pagans, but in the eyes of God and one's fellow-Christians.

Of course, the biblical meaning of *gloria* was not always misinterpreted, but in the writings prior to the year 313 A.D., when peace was granted to the Church, this meaning is far less prominent than that of the Christian idea of renown. It cannot be established that already before 313 A.D. *gloria* in the sense of 'God's Splendour' had passed from biblical Latin into common Christian Latin. After 313 A.D., however, the biblical conception of *gloria* comes more and more to the fore. There are several reasons to account for it: the development of theology and the tendency to introduce the idea of light as an element of mysticism. The word *claritas* also gains prominence again in the sense of luminous splendour. And the biblical idea of *gloria* gives rise again to new concepts in that it undergoes a sense-shift, as for instance in Christological and eschatological writings.

The biblical idea of *gloria* was naturally influenced by the Christian idea of renown both in the third and the fourth century and consequently underwent a certain modification. So in this respect too there is a development in the biblical concept of *gloria*.

Now all these factors provide the plan of this study. In the first chapter we shall inquire into the precise content of the biblical *δόξα* and consider the terms by which the interpreters translated it into Latin, especially the terms used in the *Vetus Latina* and the Vulgate. In the second chapter we shall establish that prior to 313 A.D. the biblical *gloria* was predominantly understood in the sense of fame or renown. To explain this we shall call attention to the profane idea of glory as found in pagan and Christian writers. Then we shall give a diachronic picture of the evolution of the Christian idea of renown from its origin down to the fifth century. In the third chapter we shall deal with the continuance of the biblical concept of *δόξα*. We shall discover but few traces of it in the third century, but the fourth witnesses a revival and rapid development of this concept. Next we shall try to ascertain the differentiation between *gloria*, *claritas*, *maiestas* and kindred terms, and at the same time establish the mutual influences which the various meanings of *gloria* exercised on each other, namely *gloria* in the sense of profane and Christian renown and of divine and human splendour. In that chapter we intend to follow the synchronic method.

This study is based on the texts of those early-Christian writers who by present-day standards of early-Christian philology are considered to be representative of Christian Latin <sup>1)</sup>. Among them Tertullian, who introduced Christian Latin into literature, holds pride of place. Next comes St. Cyprian, whose letters contain several elements from the colloquial language of the Christians, more because of his choice of words than the structure of his sentences <sup>2)</sup>. And for a more complete picture of the period before 313 A.D. we may add: the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, the *Vita Caecilii Cypriani*, the Acts of St. Cyprian, *De trinitate* of Novatianus and the letters of the Roman clergy embodied in the collection of

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1) 'La seule attitude justifiée là où il s'agit de recherches sémasiologiques sur des mots en pleine évolution est un examen minutieux du texte, de l'usage du mot dans son contexte et ce n'est qu'après cet examen qu'on peut procéder à l'établissement de sections sémasiologiques...', *Augustinus Magister*, III Actes, Rapport de Mlle MOHRMANN, p. 32.

2) J. SCHRJNEN-CHR. MOHRMANN, *Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cyprian*, I, p. 2.

St. Cyprian's letters. For the period after 313 A.D. we selected St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Leo the Great, of whom St. Ambrose is the least typical representative of Christian Latin. Still, his works, especially those which are a further development of his sermons, contain many Christian elements. The works of St. Augustine fall into several groups, of which his Sermons are the most important for our purpose because of their contents and their close relation to the colloquial language of the Christians. In the sermons of St. Leo the Great we hear the voice of the highest authority in the Church, and at the same time find in his language the link with liturgical Latin.

Finally, we are of opinion that the language of the plastic arts could not be ignored. For they have not only a way of expression entirely their own, but also bring us into contact with the thoughts and ideas of the more simple Christians. In them we hear the voice not of scholars or men of letters, but of simple artisans working under instructions from priests and laymen. The subjects they treat nearly always bear on the Bible and the Liturgy. We often see symbols of Christian *gloria* drawn or depicted in early-Christian works of art, notably the wreaths of Christ and the martyrs and the halo or nimbus round Christ or the Saints.

This basis we consider broad enough to warrant a reliable picture of the encounter of the classical *gloria* with the biblical *δόξα*.

We are fully aware that a unique and revolutionary linguistic phenomenon like this cannot be adequately expressed in scientific terms. Still, it will be possible to elucidate the various aspects of this encounter between *gloria* and *δόξα*, and so arrive at concrete results. For this purpose it will be necessary to consider the word *gloria* not as an independent sound-unit, but rather as a component part determined by its surroundings. It is of paramount importance in semantics to see a word in its surroundings, in connexion with allied words and its opposites and to study its gradual development. In addition, the historical development of external circumstances and even more of the mental attitude and ideas should not be ignored<sup>1</sup>). To all those factors therefore we intend to call due attention.

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1) 'Comprendre un mot, une phrase, ce n'est pas avoir l'image des objets réels que représente ce mot ou cette phrase, mais bien sentir en soi un faible réveil des tendances de toute nature qu'éveillerait la perception des objets représentés par le mot', M. LEROY, cf. A. MEILLET, *Linguistique hist. et ling. gén.*, p. 236.

## CHAPTER I

### GLORIA IN THE LATIN VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE

This study starts from the fact that in the Latin versions of the Bible the word *gloria* was used as the most current translation of the Greek word *δόξα*, and its Hebrew equivalent *kabod*. In this way *gloria* came to be associated with *δόξα*. As a consequence *gloria* acquired a cluster of new meanings which it did not have in classical Latin. Chief among them was its meaning of God's splendour and dazzling clarity in which He appeared to the Jews. This connected *gloria* with the Jewish and early-Christian conception of God. It expressed principally the aspect of Power and Light in God. This Light had no mere symbolic value, in that God was considered the light of the soul. To the minds of the Jews and Christians this light had the actual signification of the dazzling light in which God had revealed Himself on several occasions and in which He will appear again at the end of time. It is the same light which He will grant to the Blessed in Heaven. The question whether this association of God with light was taken over from Iranian religions, or the result of other eastern influences or an indigenous development, is of no importance to us here. It will be necessary, however, to determine, as precisely as possible, the different meanings and shades of meaning of *δόξα* and *kabod*, before we proceed to examine the usage of *gloria* in the Latin translations of the Bible. We shall also have to consider the notions and mental representations with which these words were associated. Only then we shall be in a position to answer the question why it was that *gloria* came to be used as a rendering of the Greek word *δόξα*.

#### A. THE GREEK TEXT OF THE BIBLE

In the Septuagint we find *kabod* translated by *δόξα*. This fact has not only caused surprise to many scholars, but also a great



variety of opinions among commentators. We do not intend to attempt a new explanation. We base our study on existing results, also with regard to the development of the concept of *δόξα*.

## Kebod Yahveh.

An exact inquiry into the semantic development of the word *kabod* is beset with many difficulties<sup>1)</sup>. The cause of this is the great uncertainty about the origins and authenticity of the writings, fragments and 'layers' of the Old Testament. We shall therefore trace this development only in its broad outlines.

According to most Hebrew scholars the original meaning of the radical *kbd* is 'to be heavy', 'to be burdensome', 'to press'<sup>2)</sup>. At first we find this verb associated with less pleasant ideas, such as war<sup>3)</sup>, hunger<sup>4)</sup>, sin, mourning and various plagues<sup>5)</sup>. In those instances it has a somewhat derogatory meaning, and is usually rendered by *βαρύνειν* in the Septuagint<sup>6)</sup>. In course of time it loses this derogatory nuance, but retains its concrete character<sup>7)</sup>. This is clear from Exodus 20.12, where it says to-day, 'Honour thy father and thy mother'. But its original meaning was more concrete, viz. to give or distribute heavy portions of food or similar things<sup>8)</sup>. Only later on it acquires the less material meaning of 'to honour', as for instance in Isaiah 25.3.

The noun *kabod* primarily meant 'riches' or 'wealth'<sup>9)</sup>. From 'wealth' it derived the meaning of 'prestige', 'importance'<sup>10)</sup>, and since wealth is often identical with power, it also acquired the

1) W CASPARI thinks it important, 'die Beobachtung streng an die Chronologie seiner einzelnen Teilen anzuschliessen und auszugehen von den ältesten Stellen, die das Nomen Kabod enthält' (*Die Bedeutungen der Wortstippe KBD*, p. 2). B STEIN considers linguistics insufficient to deal with theological terms (*Der Begriff Kebod Jahweh*, p. 8).

2) This reminds us of the original meaning of *maiestas*. Cf H WAGENVORST, *Gravitas et Maiestas*, Mnemosyne V, IV, 5 (1952), p. 287ff.

3) I reg. 31 3, I par. 10 3

4) Gen 12 10

5) Exod 8 20, 9 3, 18 24

6) Exod 8 11, 8 28, I reg 5 6 In all these texts the stress is more on the psychic than on the physical element

7) CASPARI 14

8) CASPARI 47 This is the causative form.

9) Gen 31 1, Is 10 3, 66 12 This is easily understood, if we take into consideration that in the 'Naturalwirtschaft' paying is practically identical with weighing STEIN 328, CASPARI 142

10) Gen. 34 19, I reg 9 6, II par 14 10, I par 49, 11 21-25, Ier. 48 18, psalm 87 3, Os. 47, Nah 3 10

meaning of 'power'<sup>1)</sup>, 'might'<sup>2)</sup>. All those meanings of *kabod* have a profane character. *Kabod* has, however, also a sacred meaning, as for instance in *Kebod Yahveh*. In its profane sense *kabod* is probably older than any extant Hebrew text. As a theological concept it does not occur in Genesis<sup>3)</sup>, only in Exodus do we find it used in that sense for the first time. Possibly, this sacred meaning derives from its signification of 'importance', 'imposing appearance', as applied to Yahveh. For like the profane *kabod*, the *Kebod Yahveh* also had, in Mosaic times, a very concrete and even somewhat material meaning: the powerful, mighty appearance of God. Usually such an appearance was accompanied by thunder and lightning<sup>4)</sup>, sometimes only by fire<sup>5)</sup>. All the theophanies<sup>6)</sup> are accompanied by a manifestation of power capable of breaking the laws of nature, as for instance the rain of manna from heaven<sup>7)</sup>, the miraculous kindling of the holocaust<sup>8)</sup>, the capital punishment of the rebels<sup>9)</sup>, and the cessation of drought<sup>10)</sup>. The purpose of such a manifestation of power was to prove God's fidelity to the Covenant of Sinai<sup>11)</sup>.

In post-Mosaic times, too, the *Kebod Yahveh* retains its concrete meaning, says CASPARI. He also tries to describe the development which the idea of *Kebod Yahveh* underwent in those times. Here we merely state his view of this development, and we are fully aware that this view is rather hypothetical.

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1) Is. 8.7; 16.14; 17.3-4; 21.16.

2) The parallel with 'mana' is striking, cf. WAGENVOORT, *Mnem. L.L.*, p. 287.

3) STEIN 146.

4) Exod. 19.9, 16.18, 20.21; deut. 4.15.

5) Exod. 24.17, lev. 9.23.

6) 'Jahweh ist Gewittergott, und er tragt ebenso solare Züge' (J. SCHNEIDER, *Doxa*, p. 43). STEIN (73ff), however, proves that Jahveh cannot be identified with phenomena of nature. 'Zwischen Jahweh und seinem Kabod besteht kein realer Unterschied. Und doch besteht irgendein Unterschied. Denn der KJ wird... nur im Zusammenhang mit Theophanien erwähnt. ... die Gewitterphänomene gehören keineswegs zum physischem Wesen des KJ, sondern sind nur dessen Offenbarungsform' (38). Cf. S. AALEN, *Die Begriffe Licht und Finsternis*, p. 85.

7) Exod. 16.7-10.

8) Lev. 9.23.

9) Num. 14.10.

10) Num. 20.6. Cf. G. v. RAD, *TW. z. NT II*, 242.

11) STEIN 136: 'Der historische KJ ist Gott selbst, sofern er in feierlicher Theophanie als Jahweh geschaut wird, d.h. als der in Bundesbezogenen Wundern der Gerechtigkeit und Liebe seine wesenhafte Heiligkeit und Treue manifestierende Bundesgott Israels' — H. KITTEL (*Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*) lays stress upon the element of might in the *Kebod Yahveh*.

Following the development of the concept of God, the *Kebod Yahveh* also acquired a somewhat different meaning, according to CASPARI. The *Kebod Yahveh*, as described here, was a conception of God corresponding to Mosaic times<sup>1</sup>). It expressed especially a public manifestation of power (as a sign of assistance or wrath) and the splendour with which it was accompanied. But it did not bring out the ethical and universal character of God<sup>2</sup>). The ethical character of the *Kebod Yahveh* gradually developed more and more. The concrete elements in the concept receded into the background, and God's attributes, His Power and Majesty, came to the fore in *Kabod*. In this development we probably also see the influence of the profane *kabod*, which then had already acquired the more abstract meaning of the prestige, renown, honour<sup>3</sup>), dignity and majesty of an earthly king<sup>4</sup>).

The Psalms. — So the *Kebod Yahveh* had acquired a new meaning, which still had a concrete element, but was predominantly abstract. In this sense it often occurs in the Psalms and the Prophets<sup>5</sup>). Here *Kabod* is usually best rendered by: power, majesty or holiness ('glory' is ambiguous and does not sufficiently bring out the concrete element of *Kabod*<sup>6</sup>)). In the Psalms also the *Kebod Yahveh* is nearly always associated with a certain manifestation of power, such as punishing the wicked<sup>7</sup>), helping the virtuous<sup>8</sup>), working miracles<sup>9</sup>), and even His works of creation: His might fills the earth<sup>10</sup>), thunder is the voice of the God of the *Kabod*<sup>11</sup>), and the heavens narrate His *Kabod*<sup>12</sup>).

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1) CASPARI 109ff.

2) Cf. *exod.* 33.19; 34.6; CASPARI 110, STEIN 129.

3) II *reg.* 23.19-23; *Is.* 4.2; 8.23.

4) II *reg.* 6.20-25; I *par.* 17.18; 19.12-28.

5) STEIN 264: 'Im ganzen Buche *Is.* vollziehen sich die Offenbarungen des KJ nicht sosehr auf dem Wege der 'Schau' des konkreten, göttlichen Wesens, sondern sind in der erster Linie Manifestierungen göttlicher Eigenschaften durch Gottgewirkte zukünftige Ereignisse'.

6) H. KITTEL 160: 'Das Abstractum ... bleibt seiner Bedeutung nach im Banne der Machtidee'.

7) *Psalms.* 113.4.

8) *Psalms.* 57.6-12; 138.5; 145.5-11.

9) *Is.* 35.2; 40.5; *psalm.* 72.19.

10) *Is.* 6.3.

11) *Psalms.* 29.3.

12) *Psalms.* 19.2. STEIN 300.

The idea of theophany remains associated with this more abstract *Kebod Yahveh*, but from now on in an eschatological sense, i.e. this theophany no longer signifies the appearing of God to the Jewish people, but His coming at the end of the world. Here we may quote the following texts: the *Kebod Yahveh* will rise over Sion<sup>1)</sup> and all nations will behold the *Kabod* of God<sup>2)</sup>. The prophets in particular have elaborated this Messianic eschatology<sup>3)</sup>.

With Ezechiel the *Kebod Yahveh* has a somewhat peculiar character. He describes the vision in which he was called to the prophetic office. In his description he gives such minute details of the appearance of the *Kebod Yahveh*, that the whole emphasis falls on the external features of it: the creatures with the four faces, the wheels full of eyes carrying a throne upon which a dazzling figure is seated<sup>4)</sup>. The source of those particulars does not concern us here. The more important point is that in other places, too, Ezechiel consistently adheres to this description<sup>5)</sup>. In this way the *Kebod Yahveh* resumes a more concrete form: the element of light predominates and the conception of power recedes.

In Ezechiel the *Kebod Yahveh* is not a theophany which takes place before the eyes of the whole Jewish people, as in the days of Moses. With him it is vision of a chiefly private character<sup>6)</sup>. This conception of it is also found in the other prophets. There are, however, also texts in Ezechiel where *Kabod* has the more general meaning of 'power', 'majesty'<sup>7)</sup>, but in most cases the emphasis is on the light-motif.

The doxologies. — Although the doxologies of the Old Testament have not yet taken on the definite form which they acquired in the New Testament, they call for special attention in this study. In the Psalms the *Kebod Yahveh* often has almost the value of

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1) *Is.* 60.1,3,9,20; 62.1-2.

2) *Psalm.* 97.6; *Is.* 66.18-19; 4.2; 2.2-3; *Mich.* 4.1-2; *Hab.* 2.14.

3) *Is.* II; *Agg.* 2.3-9; *Zach.* 2.8-17. AUG. v. GALL (*Die Herrlichkeit Gottes*, p. 32): 'In der exilischen und nachexilischen Literatur ist die Herrlichkeit Jahwehs fast durchweg ein messianischer Begriff geworden'.

4) *Ezech.* 1.4-28. TW. z. NT. II, 244.

5) *Ezech.* 10.18. Cf. 3.12-22; 8.4; 9.3; 11.23; 43.2.

6) STEIN 293. AALEN 77: 'Und auch für Ezechiel musz daran festgehalten werden, dasz Gottes Kabod vor allem eine Offenbarungsform ist'.

7) *Ezech.* 43.5; 44.5; 39.21.

a formula: Grant *Kabod* to Thy Name<sup>1)</sup>). In such instances the *Kebod Yahveh* approaches very closely the notion of profane honour. Still, the mind of the Psalmist is undoubtedly carried back to the old manifestations of power of the *Kebod Yahveh*, as is made clear by the context: Show Thy power as in the days of old, otherwise the Gentiles will deride Thee<sup>2)</sup>). This formulary character is also apparent from such standing expressions as 'throne of *Kabod*', 'dwelling-place of the *Kebod Yahveh*'<sup>3)</sup>). But all these texts and phrases must be seen against the background of the Old Testament. This point is important for a correct understanding of the doxologies of the New Testament and later ones. The Old Testament phrase 'to give honour to God' means to acknowledge the refulgent might and sanctity, the *Kabod*, of God<sup>4)</sup>). This sense of *Kebod Yahveh* survives for a very long time.

*Kebod Yahveh* and the Kingship of God. — Finally, there remains to point out the connexion between the *Kebod Yahveh* and the Kingship of God. In eschatology the two ideas are closely related; STEIN therefore treats of them in this connexion<sup>5)</sup>). In the beginning this Kingship of Yahveh was seen as a purely national dominion of God over the Jews<sup>6)</sup>). The prophets, however, associated the dominion of God with the eschatological idea. And according to the visions of the prophets *Kabod* and Kingship virtually combined in the theophany of the *Kebod Yahveh* in His universal Kingdom at the end of the world<sup>7)</sup>).

Many expressions, as 'throne of *Kabod*', 'the Lord of *Kabod*' (*κύριος τῆς δόξης*), also point to the connexion between *Kabod* and Kingship. It is also striking that *kabod* in its profane sense is pre-eminently used as a royal attribute. This has led CASPARI to suppose that it was the influence of the profane use of *kabod* which associated the idea of Kingship with the *Kebod Yahveh*<sup>8)</sup>).

1) *Psalm*. 115.1.

2) STEIN 133.

3) *Ier.* 14.21; 17.12; *psalm*. 26.8.

4) *Psalm*. 72.19. CASPARI repeatedly points out the concrete significance of *Kabod*, also in this connexion.

5) STEIN 107 and 307ff.

6) *I reg.* 8.7: the introduction of a political kingship is looked upon as an apostasy from Jahveh.

7) *Is.* II; *psalm*. 47.3; 97.1ff.; 29 and 93.

8) CASPARI 124. In refuting this statement STEIN considers a contrary influence more likely.

Summing up, we may say that the profane *kabod* is found in the following meanings: 1. weight, burden; 2. riches or wealth; 3. importance; 4. prestige, renown, honour (royal prestige, majesty).

The *Kebod Yabveh* is primarily the concrete Divine Being in so far This reveals Itself to man, and secondarily stands for the more or less abstract divine attributes connected with the appearance of this divine Being, notably the refulgent splendour of God, His might and Majesty<sup>1</sup>).

### ΔΟΞΑ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ

From the sixth century B.C. *δόξα* generally occurs in the sense of opinion both in its subjective meaning, i.e. the opinion which I myself hold (*opinio*), and in its objective meaning, i.e. the opinion which others have of me (repute, fame).

In the sense of *opinio* it becomes a technical term in philosophical and sophistic writings and generally denotes our unreliable, sensory knowledge. Its precise content has to be defined for each thinker individually. Among the learned it acquires the meaning of 'scholarly opinion', 'thesis', 'theorem', cf. Theophrastos' κύριαι δόξαι.

In the sense of fame it gets the nuance of 'good fame, good repute, honour or renown'. Sometimes κακή δόξα occurs, especially since in the fourth century B.C. the ethical value of fame came to be studied critically<sup>2</sup>).

*Δόξα* is also found as a proper name and then signifies 'Famous' or 'the famous one' (cf. *Κλέα*) and not 'Splendour', 'Beauty' as R. REITZENSTEIN, SCHNEIDER and others maintain. The mere fact that nowhere a text has been found older than the LXX in which *δόξα* is used in that sense, proves their opinion to be a pure hypothesis<sup>3</sup>).

The verb *δοξάζειν* occurs in the following meanings: 1. to be of opinion, to guess; 2. to praise, to extol (Thucydides 3,45,6; Dionysius Comicus and Polybius); it never means to praise God.

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1) Of these attributes H. KITTEL stresses the one of might; on the other hand v. GALL and SCHNEIDER stress the *motif* of light. STEIN suggests 'majesty' as a rendering of *Kabod*, because this translation denotes the person as well as his sublimity (p. 333). AALÉN 202: 'Die Lichtvorstellung ist jedoch nicht das entscheidende Moment des Begriffes. Δόξα ist himmlische, numinöse Machtvolle'.

2) Cf. *infra* p. 31.

3) SCHNEIDER 22 and 26. This has been refuted by G. KITTEL (TW. z. NT. II, 238): the magic papyri derive the concept of *δόξα* from the LXX. Cf. H. KITTEL 23.

In the LXX *δόξα* received an entirely new life, for the Alexandrian translators of the Hebrew Bible used it as a rendering of the Hebrew *kabod*, even in its most sacred meanings. This was nothing less than a semantic revolution. The mere fact already is a matter for surprise, for the word *ἐπιφάνεια* would undoubtedly have been a more adequate rendering of *Kabod*. This term, however, was dismissed as taboo because of its pagan associations<sup>1</sup>). They therefore preferred a neutral word with a general, comprehensive meaning to a pagan technical term. Many similar instances may be quoted from the Greek of the Jews and the Christians. It was the usual procedure in translating religious ideas. This was therefore the reason why *ἐπιφάνεια* was dismissed and *δόξα* adopted as a suitable translation of *Kabod*.

As both *δόξα* and *Kabod* could have the meaning of 'honour', 'fame', 'importance', *δόξα* could serve as a suitable rendering of *Kabod* in cases where *Kabod* conveyed one of those meanings. But according to MOHRMANN the common basis where the two words met is perhaps even broader. She has proved that *δόξα* sometimes occurs in the sense of 'royal splendour, majesty'<sup>2</sup>). On this she bases the supposition that *δόξα* was associated with the Hellenistic conception of Kingship. 'Si vraiment dans la langue profane de l'époque hellénistique *δόξα* a pu s'associer, en relation avec la conception hellénistique de la royauté, à l'idée de 'splendeur, éclat', la base sur laquelle s'appuie l'usage des LXX serait un peu plus large'<sup>3</sup>). The fact that the two words were partially equivalent may have led to a mechanical use of *δόξα* for all other meanings of *kabod*<sup>4</sup>). There are similar instances in the LXX where this

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1) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Epiphania*, p. 7, RSPH 37 (1953), p. 644ff.  
E. PAX, 'Ἐπιφάνεια, Ein religionsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur biblischen Theologie, Munch. Th. Stud. I 10, München 1955

2) Cf. Flavius Josephus, *Ant.* 8,166, *Bell.* 6,267, Philo, *Quaest. Ex.* 2,45

3) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Note sur doxa, Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung*, p. 327.

4) This is the view of G. KITTEL. The same is said by H. KITTEL: this is a typical example of a schematic method of translation (p. 62). And CASPARI: *δόξα* was chosen with the intention of conforming the Bible to the more spiritual stoic concept of God, which was bound up with a conception of immaterial light. This is improbable, because neither in Philo nor in Flavius Josephus do we find *δόξα* in a religious sense. REITZENSTEIN and SCHNEIDER: *δόξα* had already the meaning of light. Similarly M. STEINHEIMER says (*Die Doxa τοῦ Θεοῦ in der römischen Liturgie*, p. 12) 'Derjenige von den 72 Männern, der als erster den Begriff KJ mit *δόξα* *πυλίου* übersetzte, hat damit vorwiegend diese Lichtherrlichkeit Gottes zum Ausdruck bringen wollen'. This is fairly well impossible, because only in the LXX has *δόξα* assumed the meaning of light.

procedure was followed, e.g. *hōdah* - ἐξομολογεῖσθαι - *confiteri* (to praise - to confess) and *šalom* - εἰρήνη - *pax* (political peace - peace with God) <sup>1)</sup>.

In profane Greek *δόξα* was an abstract idea. But in the LXX it assumed a more concrete content. It is much more widely used than before. And yet, even in its new sense, *δόξα* retained something of its former character. Particularly as a rendering of the profane *kabod* it kept its abstract meaning. In such cases it only denotes 'honour' or 'fame', and the profane *kabod* is mostly translated by *τιμή*. It is remarkable that it is never used in the LXX in the sense of *opinio* <sup>2)</sup>. This goes to show that the usage of *δόξα* in the LXX greatly differed from that of profane Greek. It also shows that in the LXX *δόξα* became a pre-eminently religious term: *δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ*. In this sense it gets a more concrete character, because the concrete features of the *δόξα* are clearly expressed in the context. Its great future, as is already apparent now, lies in its use and development as a theological concept, or rather as a religious term.

From the Greek writings of the Old Testament and the Jewish apocryphals it is evident that *δόξα* soon became the current expression for the idea of God's *Kabod*, for it was always used to express this idea. Frequently they also attach an eschatological meaning to it <sup>3)</sup>. Under the influence of Isaiah and Ezechiel it also acquires the additional nuance of light and splendour. It becomes the common term for the 'splendour of the Messianic Kingdom'. In Enoch and 4 Esdras especially this Messianic-eschatological idea is predominant. The Messianic expectations were very vivid among the Jews during the last few centuries before Christ. Those Messianic ideas greatly influenced religious thought in the days of Jesus. At that time the Jews looked forward with great eagerness to the coming of God's glory, and they generally believed that He would soon appear and judge the world. God's splendour and glory would descend upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land, whence His light would spread over the whole world.

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1) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Pax Romana*, Annalen van het Thijmgenootschap, 37 (1947), p. 336ff.

W. S. v. LEEUWEN, *Eirene in het Nieuwe Testament*, Wageningen 1940; J. BONSIRVEN, *Le Judaïsme palestinien*, 2, Paris 1935, p. 442ff.; H. RHEINFELDER, *Confiteri*, Die Sprache 1 (1949), p. 56ff.

2) Perhaps once, cf. G. KITTEL, TW. z. NT. II 246.

3) *Bar.* 4.24.37; 5.1.9.



The Messias, as well as mankind in general, would share in His glory.

The Messianic ideas revealed in those writings are the more important, since at this stage the authors of the New Testament were influenced by the Old Testament conception of δόξα.

The New Testament. — With the New Testament we enter upon a new phase. Δόξα has clearly come to denote something sacred, it has become a biblical concept. Only in a few instances it is used in its profane sense of honour, fame<sup>1)</sup>, magnificence<sup>2)</sup> or splendour<sup>3)</sup>, and never once does it mean 'opinion'. It is owing to this almost exclusive use of δόξα as a sacred concept that δόξα became the technical term for δόξα θεοῦ. With regard to this concept the New Testament usage closely follows the pattern of the Old Testament. The terminology makes this quite clear, e.g. ὁ θεός τῆς δόξης<sup>4)</sup>, θρόνος δόξης<sup>5)</sup> and δύναμις καὶ δόξα<sup>6)</sup>. It also, quite naturally, connected up with the Messianic eschatology of the last centuries B.C.

Δόξα occurs first in the sense of 'refulgent appearance of God'. It surrounds the angels at Bethlehem as the Gospel states<sup>7)</sup>.

Δόξα is also used in the sense of 'Power' and 'Splendour', in which attributes God revealed Himself to man. In this sense δόξα is primarily attributed to the Father<sup>8)</sup>, whose Kingdom is one of overwhelming Power<sup>9)</sup>. In the same measure, though in the second place, it is predicated of the risen Christ, κύριος δόξης<sup>10)</sup>. The παθήματα were the way He had to go to enter into His δόξα, as had been foretold by Moses and the prophets<sup>11)</sup>. At the end of

1) I Thess. 2 20, Ioh. 5 41

2) Matth 4 8, 6 29

3) I Cor 15 40 41 H KITTEL translates it by 'magnificence' — According to many scholars δόξα means 'reflection' in I Cor 11 7-8 H KITTEL denies this too, and probably rightly so, for in the New Testament 'reflection' is expressed by ἀντανύασις or εἰκόν

4) Act. 7 2.

5) Matth 25 31.

6) Marc. 13 26

7) Luc. 2 9 And in the Apocalypse it says that it fills the temple in the Kingdom of Christ (apoc. 15 8, cf Ezech 10 4) and lends splendour to the New Jerusalem (apoc 21 11). 'Allerdings konnte für ein Zurücktreten der sinnlichen Erscheinung die Tatsache geltend gemacht werden, dass im Gegensatz zur Antike und zum alten Testament das neue Testament eine grosse Zurückhaltung in der Erwähnung des Lichtglanzes ubt' (PAX, p 192) Compare also Act 22 11

8) Marc 8 38, act. 7 55

9) Marc. 9 1

10) I Cor. 2 8, Iac 2 1

11) Luc 24 25-26 Here the continuity of the Old and the New Testament comes out clearly H KITTEL 186.

time He will come again and fully reveal His Power and Majesty <sup>1)</sup>. Then the Son of Man will show the δόξα τοῦ πατρὸς and the δόξα αὐτοῦ <sup>2)</sup>. As judge He will sit on the θρόνος δόξης and with the twelve Apostles will judge Israel. And man also will become κοινωνὸς τῆς μελλούσης δόξης <sup>3)</sup>, provided he has also shared in the παθήματα <sup>4)</sup>. He will receive the δόξης στέφανον from the hands of God Himself.

All this does not yet constitute a break with the old trend of thought and imagery, it is still within the frame work of the Old Testament eschatology. St. Paul and St. John are the first to break away from it. They are the theologians of the New Testament and adapt the old conception of δόξα to the new Christian doctrine.

St. Paul. — The idea of δόξα occupies a predominant place in the mind of St. Paul. This is in no small measure due to the vision of the δόξα θεοῦ which he had on the road to Damascus <sup>5)</sup>. This event, says BOTTE, dominated his life, and explains why in St. Paul δόξα always has the connotation of an appearance perceptible by the senses <sup>6)</sup>.

Furthermore, St. Paul was well acquainted with the concept of δόξα through his studies of the Scriptures. As a pharisee he was thoroughly conversant with the Old Testament conception of *kabod*. In his writings he frequently uses δόξα in its Old Testament signification. In many instances, however, we see that he changed the Old Testament idea of it and gave it a chiefly Christian content. He knows that δόξα is the attribute of the Father and the risen Christ <sup>7)</sup>. He also knows that in the Messianic Kingdom man will share in the δόξα τοῦ κυρίου <sup>8)</sup>. According to him Christ calls all men εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν <sup>9)</sup>, and this calling (κλησις) implies (according to him) a transition to a new state already in this life. But only in the next world will man's justification be complete and φανερός. With St. Paul the δόξα of the Christians is primarily an eschatological concept; the δόξα is the object of the Christian ἐλπίς <sup>10)</sup>.

Sometimes St. Paul's words suggest that God gives δόξα to man already on this earth: οὓς ἐκάλεισεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν οὓς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν <sup>11)</sup>. The idea of man's anticipation

<sup>1)</sup> Marc. 13.26.

<sup>2)</sup> Marc. 8.38; Luc. 24.25; cf. Dan. 7.13-14.

<sup>3)</sup> I Petr. 5.1-4.

<sup>4)</sup> I Petr. 4.13; cf. Marc. 10.37.

<sup>5)</sup> H. KITTEL 186.

<sup>6)</sup> Cf. II Cor. 4.6. BOTTE, *La Gloire du Christ*, Quest. Lit. et Par., 12 (1927) p. 65.

<sup>7)</sup> I Cor. 2.8; Hebr. 13.21; Col. 3.4.

<sup>8)</sup> II Thess. 2.14.

<sup>9)</sup> I Thess. 2.12; cf. Rom. 3.23.

<sup>10)</sup> Rom. 8.19; Col. 1.27.

<sup>11)</sup> Rom. 8.30.

of heaven in this world, says H. KITTEL, is a typically Pauline conception<sup>1)</sup>. And many Fathers of the Church understand also II Cor. 3.18 in this sense: we go from δόξα to δόξα, i.e. from δόξα as enjoyed here on earth to the heavenly δόξα. Nowadays, however, many biblical scholars reject this interpretation<sup>2)</sup>.

In II Cor. 3.1-11 St. Paul points out the sharp contrast between the Old Testament δόξα and the New Testament one: the Old Testament δόξα was feeble and transient as the light that radiated from the face of Moses; the Old Testament was a διακονία τοῦ θανάτου, but the New Testament is a διακονία τῆς δόξης and this δόξα is imperishable<sup>3)</sup>. He finds it difficult to define this New Testament δόξα accurately. He describes it as something superterrestrial and supersensible; it is primarily not a visible display of power or manifestation of light, but an inward state of man, through which he wields power over sin and death<sup>4)</sup>.

This conception of δόξα was not only the central idea of St. Paul's theology as it was of his own personal life, but as a missionary he also proclaimed the Εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δόξης to all nations<sup>5)</sup>.

St. John. — In St. John too the concept of δόξα is very important. He writes his gospel to prove the divinity of Christ, or to use his words, to prove that the Λόγος as the μονογενὴς παρὰ πατρός possesses the δόξα<sup>6)</sup>. The first proof he adduces for the divinity of Christ, is the miracle at the marriage in Cana. It is His first sign: the ἀρχὴ τῶν σημείων. In Cana Christ showed His δόξα for the first time, ἐφανερώσεν τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ<sup>7)</sup>. St. John sees the whole life of Christ as one continuous demonstration of His δόξα. In his last discourse to His disciples Christ sums up His whole life in these words: ἐδοξάσθη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ, i.e. the Father enabled Christ to reveal the δόξα θεοῦ to men and in doing so He bore testimony to His own δόξα, for His δόξα and the Father's is one. Δοξάζειν may therefore be translated by 'to glorify', or 'to praise', but if accurately rendered,

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1) H. KITTEL 214-215.

2) II Cor. 3.18. TW. z. NT. II, 254.

3) TW. z. NT. II, 87.

4) H. KITTEL 218.

5) II Cor. 4.3. — DIBELIUS, in his commentary on St. Paul, concludes from several instances, among them this one and I Tim. 1.11, 'dasz die Doxa Inhalt des paulinischen Evangeliums ist'; cf. H. KITTEL 218, n. 2.

6) Ioh. 1.14. Cf. C. H. DODD, *The Interpretation of the fourth Gospel*, p. 207.

7) Ioh. 2.11.

would mean 'to bear testimony to the δόξα θεοῦ, to acknowledge the δόξα' <sup>1)</sup>).

Christ's death and resurrection furnished not only the strongest evidence of His δόξα, but also meant the beginning of the Heavenly δόξα for Him. Therefore to the mind of St. John and the early Christians dying was practically identical with δοξάζεσθαι <sup>2)</sup>. To the Christian Christ's death was no σκάνδαλον, but δόξα (here δόξα comes very near to 'honour') <sup>3)</sup>.

After His resurrection, too, Christ will show the δόξα, the wonderful might, of God, notably in His assistance to the Apostles. In their turn the Apostles bear testimony to God's δόξα by working miracles, and likewise the Christians by their Christian way of life <sup>4)</sup>. Thus St. John sees the whole Κόσμος filled with the δόξα. This δόξα emanates from the Father, passes via the Λόγος to men, and from them comes back to God as glorification of His greatness <sup>5)</sup>. With St. John it is therefore the verb δοξάζειν which acquires a special and well-defined meaning: viz. to testify to God's δόξα by deeds and words, in which case δόξα must be understood as divine-ness or divine greatness and power <sup>6)</sup>.

The doxologies. — In the New Testament the doxologies assume a more definite form <sup>7)</sup>. They may be divided into two groups: the short one, e.g. ἀντὶ ἧς δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας <sup>8)</sup>, and the longer one, as in *apoc.* 7.12. The New Testament doxologies are also in the indicative, they state a truth. In this respect they are closely related to the Old Testament ones. They also often use the same terms, e.g. δύναμις, ἰσχὺς and τιμή. From this it must be concluded that δόξα is to be understood in the sense of *Kabod*. The real meaning of a New Testament doxology therefore is the recognition of God's Power and Sanctity. *Luc.* 2.14 also must undoubtedly be understood as a statement, and likewise the expression δόξαν

1) *Ioh.* 13.31.

2) Compare *Ioh.* 7.39 with 12.23-24.

3) *Ioh.* 13.32.

4) *Ioh.* 14.12 and 17.22.

5) DOM BOTTE, *Quest. Lit. et Par.* 12 (1927), p. 75: 'Si l'idée de la gloire du Christ n'est pas l'idée directrice du IV<sup>e</sup> Evangile, elle y tient du moins une place de choix'.

6) We still observe here a strong influence of the profane meaning of δόξα, i.e. renown, cf. H. KITTEL 261. — In Philo, δόξα occurs once in the sense of faith: ἡ περὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς θεοῦ δόξα (cf. later on ἀρετὴ δόξα); cf. H. KITTEL 174ff.

7) *Rom.* 16.27; *Luc.* 19.38; *apoc.* 1.6; 4.11; 19.1; 5.12-13.

8) *Rom.* 11.36.

διδόναι θεῷ signifies 'to recognize God's greatness' <sup>1)</sup>).

*Βασιλεία θεοῦ*. — In the New Testament too we repeatedly find *δόξα* closely associated with *βασιλεία*. The profane *δόξα* occurs only rarely, and where it does, it is attributed, in several cases, to an earthly king, cf. *Matth.* 4.8; 6.29 and *Luc.* 4.6. *Δόξα* in its sacred sense is also often connected with the idea of kingship. In *Tit.* 2.13 it refers to *ἐπιφάνεια, σωτήρ, μέγας θεός*, hieratic terms which had a technical meaning in the Hellenistic cult of the *κύριος βασιλεύς* <sup>2)</sup>). The close connexion between *δόξα* and *βασιλεία* is most apparent in eschatological writings, where sometimes *δόξα* is even identical with *βασιλεία*, e.g. in the parallel texts *Matth.* 20.21 and *Marc.* 10.37, the former says *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*, but the latter reads *ἐν τῇ δόξῃ σου*.

To sum up, we may say that both in the Old and the New Testament *δόξα θεοῦ* stands for 1. the refulgent appearance of God, or His shining power and greatness; 2. the eschatological — in the New Testament even the anticipated —, participation of man in God's greatness.

The verb *δοξάζειν* means: 1. 'to praise and glorify God' in the sense of recognizing God's greatness, with the special nuance in St. John of testifying to God's greatness in deeds and words. 2. 'to glorify', if God is the subject of the verb *δοξάζειν*, in the sense of 'to invest with *δόξα*'.

In all those significations *δόξα* still means something concrete, even in the New Testament, though here it indicates rather a superterrestrial and supersensible reality than one perceptible by the senses. It comprises the elements of Power and Light, of which sometimes the former, sometimes the latter predominates <sup>3)</sup>).

## B. THE 'VETUS LATINA'

The biblical idea of *δόξα* and the Roman idea of *gloria* first meet in the Christian preaching, and the oldest deposits of it we find, to a certain extent, in the Latin translations of the Bible.

<sup>1)</sup> *Act.* 12.23; *apoc.* 7.12.

<sup>2)</sup> SCHNEIDER (p. 102) considers *δόξα* to be associated with the hellenistic cult of the ruler. A. DEISZMANN, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 318,320.

<sup>3)</sup> *Δόξα* is often coupled with *κράτος, δύναμις, ισχύς*. And also with *φωτισμός, λάμπειν* etc.

For it is generally accepted that the earliest translations had a local origin. As in a locality the Latin-speaking Christians increased in number, the need of a Latin text for liturgical purposes grew in proportion. It is assumed that at first interlinear translations were made of a number of pericopes<sup>1</sup>). If this supposition be correct, these translated pericopes have probably been the starting-point of the earliest Latin versions of the Bible, which now go by the name of *Vetus Latina*. Consequently those versions will somehow reflect the language of the Latin Christians.

In the LXX and the New Testament we observe a remarkable uniformity in the usage of *δόξα*, *δοξάζειν* and *ἐνδοξος*, but in the Latin versions we meet an equally remarkable variety of it. We find there *gloria*, *claritas*, *maiestas*, *honor*, *glorificare*, *clarificare*, *magnificare*, *honorificare*, *gloriosus*, *honoratus*. This diversity is doubtless the result of the free initiative of individual translators. For their usage does not betray any differentiation in meaning, they are used promiscuously. This fact has already been established by MATZKOW: *Denique Italae interpretes ex compluribus vocabulis solere intellexeris tum hoc tum illud adhibere neque vero semper certam quandam sequi rationem interpretandi*<sup>2</sup>).

The only apparent differentiation to be discerned is of a regional character. In the decidedly African versions (e.g. Codex h and k) *δόξα* is usually rendered by *claritas*, rarely by *gloria* and only twice by *maiestas*. On the other hand, in the European versions *gloria* is the most common term for it, while *maiestas* also occurs several times<sup>3</sup>). In the *Codex Palatina*, an African version with marked European influences, *gloria* and *claritas* are about equally frequent. One would expect to find some differentiation in this *Codex Palatina*, but there is not even a trace of it. We see that in *Matth.* 16.27 *claritas* is used in an eschatological sense, in *Luc.* 2.9 it means light, in *Luc.* 4.6 splendour or wealth, it is also used in connexion with *virtus*, and in *Matth.* 19.28 it occurs in the expression *thronus claritatis*. But in *Luc.* 9.26 *gloria* also is used in an eschatological sense, in *Luc.* 9.31-32 it stands for the Trans-

<sup>1</sup>) G. PARIS, *Mélang. Ling.*, p. 75. Hence many translations, cf. *Aug. doctr. chr.* 2,11 and 15; *Hier. Praef. in Ev. ad Dam.* — There is a wide divergence of opinion regarding this question, cf. B. BOTTE, *Italia*, *Dict. de la bible*, Supplément IV, 777-782, *Latines versions antérieures à S. Jérôme*, *Dict. de la Bible*, Supplément V, fasc. 25, 334-347.

<sup>2</sup>) WALTER MATZKOW, *De vocabulis quibusdam Italae et Vulgatae christianis*, *Diss. inaug.* Berlin 1933, p. 54. Cf. *infra* p. 24.

<sup>3</sup>) H. v. SODEN, *Das lat. Neue Testament in Africa*, Leipzig 1919, p. 239 n. 1: he gives complete statistics.

figuration on Mount Thabor, and in *Luc.* 12.27 it means magnificence. Likewise, the Johannine *δόξα* is sometimes rendered by *gloria* and sometimes by *claritas*. In the *Codex Monacensis* (q) *gloria* and *maiestas* also are used in those significations<sup>1)</sup>. We find therefore that in each separate version the use of *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas* is entirely arbitrary and that the three are interchangeable. *Maiestas* is rare and the use of *honor* practically negligible.

Therefore a comparative study of those words in the translations of the Bible is not possible. We can only examine their relation to *δόξα*. To do this we have to trace their origin and ascertain their content. It is also important to consider which words were used as a rendering of *δόξα* in profane writings.

It is obvious that neither *gloria* nor *claritas* nor *maiestas* was an adequate translation of *δόξα*. And of those three *gloria* was the least suitable to express the biblical idea of *δόξα*. For first of all it had the abstract meaning of renown, and secondly it was almost a technical term for the political-military fame of Rome. On the other hand *gloria* had the advantage of being the most usual translation of the profane *δόξα*, and as such was used by all interpreters of profane documents<sup>2)</sup>. The translators of the Bible had an additional reason to accept *gloria* as the equivalent of *δόξα*. For in profane writings *δόξα* had not only the meaning of renown, but also of 'opinion'. And in the Bible it was never used in the latter sense, neither in the Old nor in the New Testament.

In profane Latin *claritas* meant 'light', 'clearness' and 'fame'. Profane authors could use it as a literal translation of *δόξα*, though in the sense of fame it was less common than *gloria*. *Claritas* also had the meaning of light and therefore had a more concrete character than *gloria*. And so *claritas* was the better choice and a fairly adequate rendering of the biblical *δόξα*. This applied only to those interpreters who grasped the content of the scriptural *δόξα*. Most interpreters have probably chosen *claritas* to express the element of light. We shall see later on that in Christian authors of the third century *claritas* had often the meaning of Christian fame. Therefore it is not correct to say, as STEINHEIMER does, that *claritas* as a rendering of *δόξα* solely expressed the element of light<sup>3)</sup>.

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1) Cf. STEINHEIMER 15 n. 38.

2) A. LEBMAN, *Gloria*, 129. LEBMAN, *Mnemosyne* IV, V, 1, p. 66.

3) STEINHEIMER 16.

*Maiestas* in profane Latin is often used of the emperor and pagan gods. It could only partially convey the content of δόξα, viz. the (royal) power and exaltedness of God. In this sense it had even a more abstract character than *Kabod*<sup>1</sup>). It shows, however, that the interpreters had a clear grasp of the biblical aspects of δόξα, for it certainly was not the obvious word for it; *maiestas* was never used by profane writers as a rendering of δόξα. Another reason why *maiestas* gained prominence is its connexion with *magnus*, *magnificare* and *μεγαλύνειν*. *Μεγαλύνειν* occurs very frequently in the Bible and may have suggested *maiestas*. Evidently its pagan character was not so pronounced that the Christians had to avoid it on that account.

The mere fact that the interpreters hesitated in their choice and display such a variety of terms, shows that they set about their task carefully and thoughtfully. Their translations were no mechanical transpositions. The word *gloria* did not satisfy them on account of its profane connotations. They felt that it did not completely cover the notion of δόξα. *Maiestas* was a better rendering of it, but missed the biblical aspect of light. It was, moreover, a typically Roman word with an abstract meaning. *Maiestas* emphasized the aspect of power, *claritas* that of light. The use of *claritas* shows clearly that the interpreters often had a clear notion of the content of δόξα. And this goes to prove that the early interpreters were not as ignorant and primitive as has sometimes been supposed. This is also borne out by other subtle translations, such as *gratificata* for *κεχαριτωμένη*<sup>2</sup>). In this connexion we should bear in mind that there were many Jewish elements in the early-Christian communities, and that the early translators may have maintained contact with Jewish Rabbis. This suggestion appears the more plausible when we realize that *claritas* and *maiestas* bring out separately the aspects of light and power in *Kabod*, and that this closely corresponds to the distinction which the Targumists made between *shekinah* (the presence of God) and *jeqara* (the dazzling light of God). CHR. MOHRMANN expresses it thus: 'On

1) *Maiestas* had a secondary meaning of 'mana': the magic power of the gods and also of the Roman people. But later on this signification died out. Cf. the discussion of: H. WAGENVOORT, *Roman Dynamism*, 120ff; G. DUMÉZIL, *Maiestas*, *Revue de Phil.* 26 (1952), p. 7ff; WAGENVOORT, *Mnemosyne* IV, V, 1, p. 287-306; B. BOTTE et CHR. MOHRMANN, *L'Ordinaire de la Messe*, Paris-Louvain 1953, p. 111-113.

2) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, 5 (1951), p. 1ff.; G. PARIS, 54 and 74.



est tenté de voir dans cette accentuation tantôt de l'élément de la lumière, tantôt de celui de majesté (nuances de sens qui ne sont pas suggérées par le seul mot *δόξα*) une influence issue d'une tradition juive comme elle se développait dans les cercles des Targumistes et dans l'enseignement oral des rabbins. On sait que les Targumistes créèrent une expression araméenne, qui désignait la gloire de Dieu, ou plutôt sa présence, à savoir *Shekinah*, tiré du verbe *shakan*, et qu'ils se mirent à distinguer de cette manière la majesté de Dieu (*Shekinah*) avec la lumière éblouissante qui l'accompagne (*Jeqara*, successeur de l'ancien *Kabod*)<sup>1)</sup>.

It is more difficult to explain why *claritas* does not occur in the European translations, whereas it is predominant in the African versions. *Claritas* is typical of the language of the African Christians<sup>2)</sup>. Possibly, the African interpreters were more affected by Jewish influences and for that reason preferred *claritas*. It is difficult to verify, and the available data are too scanty to offer a satisfactory explanation.

To translate the verb *δοξάζειν* into Latin the interpreters coined a whole set of new words: *glorificare*, *magnificare*, *honorificare*, *clarificare*. Only *magnificare* was a pre-Christian word, but rarely used in profane Latin and never applied to the gods. It is remarkable that the translators avoided existing words such as *honorare*, *laudare*, *celebrare*, and preferred Christian neologisms. This again goes to prove that they clearly understood the content of the biblical *δόξα*. They realized that *δοξάζειν* was not the same as *laudare Deum* (to praise God), but that its real meaning was 'to recognize the majesty of God', or 'to bestow glory and greatness'<sup>3)</sup>.

Already in the *Vetus Latina* the words *gloria*, *gloriosus*, *glorificare* are more frequent than *claritas* and *maestas*. This prevalence of *gloria* increased in course of time. But why was *gloria* preferred?

1) MOHRMANN, *Note sur Doxa*, Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, p. 327 v. GALL (77): 'Zusammenfassend sagen wir, Schekina bezeichnet eben ganz allgemein die Gegenwart Gottes, während unter Jeqara seine Erscheinung zu verstehen ist. Schekina ist stets 'das unpersonliche Zeichen der Gegenwart Gottes', es ist etwas Abstraktes, während Jeqara das personliche Zeichen der Gegenwart Gottes, seine sichtbare Erscheinung, also etwas Konkretes ist. Dies gilt, wie mir scheint, nicht nur für die ältere Targume, sondern für alle'.

BOTTE, *Quest Lit et Par*, 12 (1927), p. 67.

2) 'Africitas', cf. G. AALDERS, *Tertullianus' citaten uit de evangelen*, diss. Amsterdam 1932, p. 32, and the literature mentioned there.

3) MATZKOW 47, MOHRMANN, *Note sur doxa*, Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, p. 328.

This is undoubtedly due, for a great part, to the fact that it was the most usual rendering of *δόξα*, and therefore the most obvious word <sup>1)</sup>. Moreover, *gloria* was extensively used in the European versions, and here too Europe, or rather Rome, gained the ascendancy just as in matters of liturgy and Church discipline.

It remains, however, a reason for surprise that *gloria* acquired this totally new content. This evolution defies all semantic laws. It has led STEINHEIMER to suppose that already in classical times *gloria* had the meaning of 'light', 'shine' <sup>2)</sup>. From this supposition he concludes that in using the word *gloria* the Bible-translators wanted to emphasize the aspect of light. To us this supposition seems to be very improbable. SCHNEIDER's similar contention for *δόξα* is no argument for *gloria*. Moreover SCHNEIDER's contentions have been conclusively refuted by G. KITTEL and H. KITTEL <sup>3)</sup>. The contention that *gloria* derives etymologically from a root *gel* (*γελᾶν*, to shine) is a pure hypothesis. The science of semantics has its own laws, but Christian Latin had its own laws too. Christian Latin, as we have remarked before, gave preference to existing Latin words to express ideological concepts. This often entailed important sense-shifts. Therefore we still adhere to our view that *gloria* was preferred, because it was the most literal translation of *δόξα* and because the real content of *δόξα* was often not correctly understood. The latter assertion cannot be proved from the versions of the Bible themselves, but will become plausible after we have examined the writings of the Christian authors of the third century. For then we shall learn that several ecclesiastical writers interpret the biblical *gloria* and sometimes also the biblical *claritas* as fame or renown. But to this point we shall return below.

And so many problems concerning the first meeting of Roman *gloria* with the concept of *δόξα* remain unsolved. Yet, some facts can be placed beyond doubt: e.g. *gloria* has become the most important and frequent translation of *δόξα*, and as a consequence it acquired a whole set of new meanings. At the same time *gloria* also underwent the transforming influence of the Christian era. It received a new life. And this rebirth was possible, because the ancient ideal of glory was no longer a living and inspiring idea.

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1) Cf. G. PARIS, *Mél. Ling.*, 74; G. CUENDET, *Cicéron et St. Jérôme Traducteurs*, REL 11 (1933), p. 380ff.

2) STEINHEIMER 16.

3) G. KITTEL, *Wtb. z. NT.*, II 238; H. KITTEL 23.

## C. THE VULGATE

It is no matter for surprise to find that the Vulgate of St. Jerome uses the same words for δόξα as the old Latin versions, for St. Jerome used them as the basis of his own translation. He only introduced alterations, as he says himself, when he came upon obvious errors. We must also bear in mind that he began his translation in Rome by the order of Pope Damasus. It is at least probable therefore that the European versions formed the starting-point for his work. And as a matter of fact we find the word *gloria* as the predominant term also in the Vulgate. St. Jerome disliked *clarificare* and *magnificare*, but he says that he never avoided them without necessity. In his letter to Sunnia and Fretela he says: *in evangelio in eo loco, ubi in Graeco legimus: πάτερ, δόξασόν με τῇ δόξῃ ἣ εἶχον παρὰ σοὶ πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον γενέσθαι, in Latino legitur: pater, clarifica me. noluimus ergo immutare, quod ab antiquis legebatur, quia idem sensus erat*<sup>1</sup>). And in the same letter speaking about the translation of δοξάζειν he says: *Universum semen Jacob magnificate eum (ps. 21.24) —, pro quo in Graeco scriptum sit δοξάσατε αὐτόν, id est 'glorificate eum'. Sed sciendum quod ubicumque in Graeco 'glorificate' scriptum est, latinus interpres 'magnificate' transtulerit secundum illud, quod in Ex. 15.1 dicitur 'Cantemus Domino, gloriose enim magnificatus est', pro quo in Graeco scribitur 'glorificatus est', sed in Latino sermone si transferatur fit indecora translatio; et nos emendantes olim psalterium, ubicumque sensus idem est, veterum interpretum consuetudinem mutare noluimus, ne nimia novitate lectoris studium terreremus*<sup>2</sup>).

An examination of the usage of those terms in the Vulgate yields the following result: *clarificare* never occurs in the Old Testament nor in the gospels of St. Mathew, St. Mark and St. Luke; it is rare in St. Paul, a little more frequent in St. John. With regard to the psalms we may say that *clarificare* never occurs in the *Psalterium Romanum* nor in the *Psalmi iuxta Hebraeos*. This usage is in keeping with St. Jerome's attitude towards *clarificare*, which is borne out by the fact that he uses it only once in his commentaries on the Bible<sup>3</sup>). *Claritas* is only once used in the

<sup>1</sup>) Hier. epist. 106,30 (*Ad Sunniam et Fretelam de Psalterio, Quae de LXX Interpretum editione corrupta sint*), CSEL 55, p. 262, 5-10.

<sup>2</sup>) Hier. epist. 106,12 (CSEL 55, p. 255, 3-12).

<sup>3</sup>) MATZKOW 50; DOM R. WEBER, *Le Psautier Romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins*, Città del Vaticano 1953 (Coll. Bibl. Lat. X), Index verborum, s.v. *Dom Henri de Sainte Marie, Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, Città del Vaticano 1954 (Coll. Bibl. Lat. XI), Index verborum, s.v.

Old Testament, in Tobias. In the book of Wisdom it occurs once, but this is still the text of the *Vetus Latina*. In the New Testament it is never used in *Matth.* and *Marc.* and for the rest we only find it in *Luc.* 2.9; *Ioh.* 5.41; 17.5, 22, 24; *act.* 22.11; *I Cor.* 15.41; *II Cor.* 3.18; 4.6; *Phil.* 3.21 and *Col.* 1.11. In all those places *claritas* has indisputably the meaning of 'light, splendour'. *Claritas Dei circumfulsit illos*, *Luc.* 2.9; *Nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam*, *apoc.* 21.23, comp. also 21.11; *Prae claritate luminis illius*, *act.* 22.11; *Deus ipse illuxit in cordibus nostris ad illuminationem scientiae claritatis Dei*, *II Cor.* 4.6. In this connexion the passage of *I Cor.* 15.40-43 is of interest. It clearly shows that St. Jerome preferred *gloria*, but in some instances used *claritas*; and in those instances *δόξα* was used in the sense of light or splendour. And the reason for doing so, we may rightly conclude, was the fact that *gloria* did not adequately express the aspect of light<sup>1</sup>). In this passage St. Paul uses the word *δόξα* several times, but the Vulgate translates it in some cases by *gloria* and in other cases by *claritas*. *Gloria* is used twice: the first time its meaning is ambiguous, the second time it has an eschatological meaning. *Claritas* occurs four times, and in each case it refers to the light of the celestial bodies: *et corpora caelestia, et corpora terrestria, sed alia quidem caelestium gloria, alia autem terrestrium: alia claritas solis, alia claritas lunae, et alia claritas stellarum. Stella enim a stella differt in claritate: sic et resurrectio mortuorum... seminatur in ignobilitate, surget in gloria*. Furthermore, *claritas* was sometimes used in an eschatological sense as for instance in *II Cor.* 3.18 and *Phil.* 3.21; here too the element of light is implied. Lastly *claritas* and *clarificare* occur frequently in the gospel of St. John, usually in a fairly abstract sense. This does not justify us to draw any conclusion with regard to the meaning of *claritas*. For as MATZKOW says, St. Jerome did not correct this gospel with the same accuracy as he did the others. Therefore it represents, for the greater part, the text of the *Vetus Latina*<sup>2</sup>).

Likewise *maiestas* and *magnificare* occur only sparsely in the Vulgate. St. Jerome retains those words only out of respect for tradition and sometimes to emphasize the idea of power, as for instance in the following texts: *Deus maiestatis intonuit*, *psalm.*

1) MOHRMANN, *Note sur doxa*, Sprachgeschichte und Wortbedeutung, p. 328.

2) MATZKOW 50.

28.3; *Maiestate Domini coruscante*, exod. 40.33; *brachio maiestatis suae*, Matth. 19.28, cf. 25.31; *ad dexteram maiestatis in excelsis*, Hebr. 1.3; *nec est qui resistat maiestati tuae*, Esth. 13.11; *ostendit maiestatem suam in gentem peccatricem*, Tob. 13.7; *cum virtute . . . et maiestate*, Matth. 24.30; *cum potestate magna et maiestate*, Luc. 21.27. And several times it is used of the imposing appearance of God: II Par. 7.1; Ezech. 43.4; II Macc. 2.8; Is. 2.19; Luc. 9.26,32. On the whole *maiestas* is fairly rarely used, though a little more frequent than *claritas*. DOM BOTTE has already established that 'il a été partiellement effacé par *gloria*'<sup>1</sup>).

On the other hand, *gloria* and *glorificare* occur at least a few hundred times. On closer examination we see that *gloria* has acquired practically all the different meanings of *δόξα*. It is even used of the dazzling appearance and splendour of God. When, however, not the light of God, but some material light like that of stars is meant, we observe a certain hesitation about the use of *gloria*. In such cases we usually find *claritas*. Only once in the Vulgate do we see *gloria* used of the light of the stars: *Species caeli gloria stellarum*, Eccli. 43.10. But again this text is not a translation of St. Jerome; it is from the *Vetus Latina*.

We often see that Christian neologisms which occurred in the *Vetus Latina*, were avoided by St. Jerome. Yet we know that he used no progressive or sweeping methods in producing his new version of the Bible. The reason why he avoided those neologisms may have been that they had already been ousted from the Christian parlance of his days and replaced by other words or that they had never passed from the translations of the Bible into the daily common speech of the Christians. A third possibility is that they had undergone a certain shift of meaning in common Christian parlance. In this way many biblical words have disappeared: e.g. *apostata* was replaced by *rebellis*, *Iohannes baptizator* by *Iohannes baptista*. The same happened with *claritas* and *maiestas*, and with *clarificare* and *magnificare*. Those words played an important part, as we have seen, in the *Vetus Latina*, but are avoided as much as possible in the Vulgate. The reason was not St. Jerome's personal dislike of them, but must be sought in the fact that those words had assumed a different meaning or shift of meaning in the language of St. Jerome's contemporaries. Especially *claritas* seems to have

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1) BOTTE et MOHRMANN, *L'Ordinaire de la Messe*, p. 113.

undergone such a shift of meaning in the fourth century, so that it no longer adequately expressed the notion of *δόξα*. It had come to stand for concrete, material light, and so become much narrower in meaning. On the other hand *gloria* was the predominant word in the Vulgate, and also we may presume in the common parlance of the Christians. Still it did not do justice to the aspect of light in *δόξα*; it could hardly express the idea of material light without the admixture of some spiritual, immaterial nuance. *Claritas* expressed the idea of light more effectively. *Maiestas* was a little more frequent than *claritas*, but covered the idea of *δόξα* only partially. It emphasized the aspect of power in *δόξα*, and often signified the imposing appearance of God.

The content of *δόξα*, therefore, is spread over three different words, *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas*. Of those three *gloria* has become the most important and frequent rendering of *δόξα*. This ascendancy of *gloria* becomes more pronounced in the fourth century. The final outcome of this process is reflected in the modern languages of Europe: 'gloria', 'gloire' and 'glory' have retained their biblical sense, whereas 'clarté', 'clarifier' and 'chiarezza' have chiefly a profane meaning<sup>1</sup>).

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1) The Roman liturgy, however, retained *claritas* and *clarificare*.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ORIGIN OF A NEW CHRISTIAN CONCEPT GLORY OR RENOWN IN THE EYES OF GOD

When in early Church the Christian congregation listened to the lessons from the Bible in a Latin version, or when privately they read the Scriptures at home, they inevitably came across words like *gloria*, *gloriosus*, *glorificare*. It would be interesting to know now what these terms exactly conveyed to the Christians of the West, and with what representations and sentiments these words were associated in their minds. We belonging to modern times are tempted to believe that the early Christians understood them in their biblical sense. Still, we should always remember that they were not only Christians, but also real, genuine Roman men and women. On hearing such words they would naturally be reminded of the great ideals of ancient Rome and her glorious past as described by her historians and sung by her poets. The ambiguity of many words and ideas in Christian Latin cannot be ascribed to any deliberate attempt at reconciling Christianity to Paganism; it must rather be attributed to the enormous difficulty of breaking away from that 'pernicious habit' of the classical way of life, thought and language, as St. Augustine has called it<sup>1</sup>). Ambiguity in language and confusion in thought were to some extent the inevitable result of the attempt 'to pour new wine into old bottles without breaking them'. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the difficulties the early Christians experienced in expressing their religious ideas and sentiments in a correct and truly Christian manner.

In order to arrive therefore at a correct understanding of the meaning the early Christians attached to the word *gloria*, it will

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<sup>1</sup>) C. COCHRANE, *Christianity and classical culture*, Oxford 1940, p. 218ff.

be necessary first of all to call attention to the Roman background underlying this idea and to examine the essential features of the pagan concept of *gloria*. After that we shall pass on to writings of the Christian authors, and a study of their usage of *gloria* will reveal that they used *gloria* both in its profane and scriptural sense. In its profane sense it is used very frequently and usually in a derogatory meaning, in its scriptural sense it occurs comparatively rarely in the beginning, but becomes more frequent in the fourth century. We shall also discover that in transposing the pagan ideal of *gloria* into the Christian sphere of thought, they formed a new concept, viz. renown and honourable fame in the eyes of God (*gloriarī in Domino*). Bearing in mind the Roman background of the early Christians and their general ignorance of Hebrew thought, we cannot be surprised to find that by *gloria* in its biblical sense the Latin-speaking Christians often understood renown, i.e. renown in the sense of true fame and glory in the eyes of God in contrast to false, profane glory.

In this chapter we shall therefore deal first with the historical development of the profane ideal of glory, then with the attitude of the early Christians towards this profane ideal, and finally we shall consider in this connexion the origin and growth of the Christian concept of renown or glory, and more particularly of the *gloria martyrum*.

## A. THE PAGAN IDEAL OF GLORY

The etymology of the word *gloria* is rather obscure. The most probable etymology has been proposed by A. RIBEZZO, who holds that, through the intermediate stage of *gno-ria*, *gloria* derives from the root *gno* (cf *ignoro*)<sup>1</sup>).

In ancient Rome *gloria* was not so much a heroic concept as an ethical one; *gloria amplissimum virtutis praemium*, says Cicero<sup>2</sup>). Roman glory was attained by outstanding acts of courage and valour; consequently its primary characteristic was of a personal nature. This glory was intimately bound up with the interests of the *gens* and the *respublica*; it was principally this public interest which moderated and restricted the ambition and thirst for glory

1) LEEMAN, *Gloria*, p. 124-127; WALDE-HOFMANN and ERNOUT-MILLET do not agree with him.

2) U. KNOCH, *Der römische Ruhmesgedanke*, Philologus 1934, p. 115. Cic. *Mil.* 97.



of the individual. The *imagines maiorum* also constantly reminded them that the glory of the *gens* was the criterion to which they had to conform their own deeds. The greatest and most honourable renown consisted in surpassing the *gloria maiorum*, as is shown by the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus which says: *facile factis superasse gloriam maiorum*<sup>1)</sup>, and its opposite *qui rem patriam et gloriam maiorum foedat, non est ut decet eum esse*<sup>2)</sup>. To the Romans immortality meant living on in the memory of the *gens*. This typically Roman idea is quite different from the Greek notion of glory. In actual political life the Greeks never regarded δόξα as an ethical ideal. In Homer glory is not won by meritorious deeds, but rather by unprecedented facts<sup>3)</sup>; in the πόλις this glory was determined by various factors, such as birth, social position, property, one's whole existence, but never was one's own righteousness its chief determining factor<sup>4)</sup>. The Greek conception of glory is embodied in such men as Herostratos, Alcibiades, Themistocles, and especially Achilles, who even disregarded the needs of the army for his own personal ambition. Only the Greek philosophers criticized this concept of glory and distinguished between false, popular glory and true glory in the eyes of the wise<sup>5)</sup>. Such a distinction would not have been possible in Rome, where popular fame was mere adventitious and incidental to the idea of glory, which, to their minds, primarily embraced the notion of courage and meritoriousness. Contrary to the Greek idea of heroic, egocentric glory, the Roman conception of it has a distinctly ethical character<sup>6)</sup>.

During the last century of the republic, however, we notice several essential changes in the Roman idea of glory, this development was caused by the structural evolution of Roman society: the οἰκονομική replaced the closed community, glory is no longer restricted to the *gens* or the city of Rome, as is clear from Cicero's definition, *Gloria est inlustris et pervagata magnorum in civis vel*

1) A ERNOUT, *Recueil de Textes Latins Archaïques* Paris 1947, p 18

2) Plautus *Trin* 656, cf KNOCHE, *Philologus* 1934, p 109

3) Hom *Il* Z 208 αἶψα ἀδοτεῖν καὶ ὑπελόχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων  
Cf W JAEGER, *Paidéia*, I p 14

4) Pindaros *Nem* 3,40, cf LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 11

5) For a full treatment of the glory in hellenistic philosophy, see LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 25ff

6) FR LEO, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, p 19, LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 131  
Aug *Civ* 2,12 *At Romani, sicut in illa de re publica disputatione Scipio gloriatur, probis et iniuris poetarum subiectam vitam famamque habere noluerunt, capite etiam sancientes, tale carmen condere si quis auderet*

*in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum*<sup>1)</sup>. And as the ruling powers, so far from following this evolution, proved incapable of governing the empire, the great military leaders gained gradually more political power. As a result personal ambition gained the upperhand at the expense of the ethical character of glory. In this connexion it is significant to note that Marius, the parvenu, was nicknamed *gloriosus*<sup>2)</sup>, which also reminds us of the *Miles gloriosus* by Plautus. Sallust, in particular, gives a scathing criticism of the decay of glory and classifies ambition together with luxury as the causes of the corruption and decline of Rome<sup>3)</sup>.

In addition to this political corruption Hellenistic influence made itself increasingly felt in Rome. Gradually, Greek philosophical ideas and theories penetrated into Roman thought, especially the Stoic distinction between *vera et falsa gloria*. Cicero's Orations still breathe the traditional Roman atmosphere, but his other works clearly reflect the ideas of Posidonius and Panaetius<sup>4)</sup>.

Between this Stoic influence and the political corruption there is a continuous interplay, resulting in a devaluation of the old Roman concept of glory. Still as an ethical ideal *gloria* was not yet dead. From the fact that in his Orations Cicero stresses this ancient ideal and only displays occasional traces of Stoic influence, it may be inferred that the distinction between *vera* and *falsa gloria* had not yet sunk into the minds of the common people<sup>5)</sup>.

The age of the emperors, and the Augustan period in particular, call for greater attention, since the Augustan ideals determine, to a large extent, the future development. After the fall of the republic a period ensued when several attempts were made to restore the ancient Roman traditions. Especially Augustus made serious efforts in this direction, in which he was strongly supported by Livy, Vergil and Horace.

**Livy.** His works afford us a picture of the great ideal which had dominated the history of Rome. Description is not marred by philosophical influences as in Cicero, nor by epic elements or glorifications of Augustus as in Vergil. For him *gloria* primarily implies the idea of *virtus* or *fortitudo*, and has nothing to do with

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1) Cic. *Marcell.* 26; cf. KNOCHE, *Philologus*, 1934, p. 117ff.

2) Val. Maximus 2,2,3; cf. KNOCHE, *Philologus*, 1934, p. 120.

3) Sall. *Cat.* 12,1.

4) LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 138-167.

5) LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 138.

wealth or birth: *P. Valerius... moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis ut funeri sumptus deesset*<sup>1)</sup>. Military achievements in war-time and statesmanship in political and economic affairs in peace-time are a title to glory<sup>2)</sup>. Livy shows very clearly the link that exists between personal glory and ancestral fame<sup>3)</sup>. This applied particularly to aristocratic families, and he therefore exhorts the *Equites: ut ordinis eius gloriam invictam praestent*<sup>4)</sup>. The public interest is the principal inducement to glory and its standard, personal ambition at the expense of the state deserves severe censure<sup>5)</sup>. Fabius Cunctator tells Scipio explicitly that he considers his own fame as well as Scipio's glory subservient to the interests of the State<sup>6)</sup>. Personal ambition is not sufficient reason to embark on bold endeavours, *cum ea gloria quae parta est, vivendum atque moriendum est*<sup>7)</sup>. In Livy, therefore, one of the main characteristics of glory is *moderatio*<sup>8)</sup>, which first awaits the right moment to act, and when success has been achieved, avoids ostentation: *adeo sprete in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior reddit*<sup>9)</sup>. Livy disapproves of too much *gloria*, in which case the personal element would receive too much emphasis and *gloria* would give rise to *invidia*; *maior gloria Scipionis et quo maior, eo propior invidiam*<sup>10)</sup>. The exponents of this tendency are the *Scipiones*, in whom this new *gloria* assumes un-Roman and degenerate forms: *cum illorum (i.e. Scipionum) gloriam tueri posteris satis est, P. Africanum tantum paternas superiecis laudes, ut fidem fecerit non sanguine humano sed stirpe divina satum se esse*<sup>11)</sup>. Here Livy takes a firm stand against this new ideal of *gloria* as it developed in the last century B.C.

**Vergil.** Vergil's *Aeneid* introduces the epic element in Latin literature, and with it the heroic *gloria*, which Vergil rightly defines

1) Liv. 2,16,7; cf. 31,47,5 and 7,13,5.

2) Liv. 2,22,7; 2,16,7; 3,10,1; 7,32,10.

3) Liv. 22,31,11.

4) Liv. 10,14,11.

5) Liv. 6,16,5; 10,46,6; 21,53,6.

6) Liv. 28,41,1: *cum in me ipso numquam pluris famam hominum quam rem publicam fecerim, ne tuam quidem gloriam bono publico proponam.*

7) Liv. 28,40,13.

8) Liv. 26,26,9; cf. 3,68,6.

9) Liv. 2,47,11; cf. 28,9,15, *Neronemque etiamsi pedes incedat, vel parta eo bello vel sprete eo triumpho gloria memorabilem fore*; 22,39,19, *Vanam gloriam qui spreverit, veram habebit.*

10) Liv. 35,10,5.

11) Liv. 38,58,7.

as *famam extendere factis, hoc virtutis opus*<sup>1)</sup>. He describes heroic glory as a motive of equal value to *pietas*: *Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum, Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli respice*<sup>2)</sup>. In Aeneas both these ideals merge into one, *sum pius Aeneas... fama super aethera notus* (καὶ κλέος αὐτοῦ οὐρανὸν ἔκει)<sup>3)</sup>. Thus the epic, heroic and universal *gloria* (κλέος, frequently rendered by *fama*) is introduced into the Roman world of thought, in which heroic glory lends grandeur to *pietas*, and *pietas* endows ambition with an ethical value.

Furthermore, to Vergil Rome and Troy, Augustus and Aeneas lie in one perspective; the boundaries of history and epic myths coincide in the Aeneid. As a consequence the historic glory of Rome receives a heroic glamour, so that it becomes the highest and most admirable value of life. Its origin is the *ingens gloria Dardaniae*<sup>4)</sup>, which though it was lost (*fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum*)<sup>5)</sup>, will be restored, according to Iove's promise made to Venus in Bk. I: *Imperium sine fine dedi... Nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar, imperium Oceano, fama qui terminet astris, Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*<sup>6)</sup>. Vergil develops this idea more fully in the VI Book, when Anchises grants Aeneas a glance into the future, *Nunc age, Dardaniam prolem quae deinde sequatur | Gloria* (initially placed for emphasis), *qui maneat Itala de gente nepotes, | Illustres animas nostrumque in nomen ituras, | expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo*<sup>7)</sup>. At this juncture mythical and historical Roman figures appear, *proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis; et Capys et Numitor, et qui te nomine reddet Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis egregius*<sup>8)</sup>. In him we again observe the combination of *pietas* and military glory, which remain the Roman ideal. *Vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido*<sup>9)</sup>. Thus Anchises conducts his son round in the underworld *incenditque animum famae venientis amore*<sup>10)</sup>.

In the last four books especially Vergil portrays military glory

1) Verg. *Aen.* 10,467.

2) *Aen.* 4,272; cf. 232.

3) *Aen.* 1,379; cf. 11,124, *O fama ingens, ingentior armis, vir Troiane, quibus caelo te laudibus aequem.*

4) *Aen.* 6,65.

5) *Aen.* 2,326.

6) *Aen.* 1,286-288; cf. Aug. *civ.* 2,22, *imperium sine fine dabit*, i.e. Christ.

7) *Aen.* 6,756-759; cf. E. NORDEN, *Vergilstudien*, Hermes 28 (1893), p. 501ff.; *Acheis*, Buch VI, erklärt von E. NORDEN, p. 308ff.

8) *Aen.* 1,767-769.

9) *Aen.* 6,823.

10) *Aen.* 6,889.

as an incentive to courageous and heroic deeds, so for instance the *pulsi Turni gloria* of Mnestheus<sup>1)</sup> and the *insignis gloria facti* when Aeneas is wounded<sup>2)</sup>. We have to remember, however, that Vergil was a pacifist by nature and a product of his own time, and that those descriptions should be seen as an expression of his romantic melancholy rather than an enthusiastic admiration of military glory. This is borne out clearly by the tale of Nisus and Euryalus (*nulla meis sine te quaeretur gloria rebus*)<sup>3)</sup> and by the words in which Euander addresses his dead son: *Haud ignarus eram quantum nova gloria in armis et praedulce decus primo certamine posset*<sup>4)</sup>. Then there is the Ligurian warrior who challenging Camilla to a duel says, *Iam nosces ventosa ferat cui gloria fraudem*<sup>5)</sup>. Such utterances show plainly that Vergil considered military glory only a dubious ideal.

Turnus is portrayed as the military and ideal counterpart of Aeneas. He is only actuated by private interest and personal love of heroic glory, he belongs to the Achilles type, he is noble and worthy of admiration, more real and spontaneous, though less perfect than Aeneas, who seems to be more a rational complex of ethical ideals<sup>6)</sup>. Turnus is reproved for dragging his country into a futile war for the sake of his betrothal and his own personal honour: *Aut si fama movet... et si adeo dotalis regia cordi est, aude atque adversum fidens fer pectus in hostem*<sup>7)</sup>. Turnus' own speech shows, more than anything else, that glory was the predominant motive in his life<sup>8)</sup>. His ambition is the cause of bloodshed and tears. In the field he is a most furious and ferocious warrior. His death brings peace to others.

In Vergil, therefore, we find the old Roman ideal of glory, the *laudum cupido* tempered by the *amor patriae*, and hence it has an ethical value. In the Aeneid this glory also acquires an epic and universal character with the emphasis on universal notoriety. It is our opinion that Vergil uses the word *fama* in preference to *gloria*, because *gloria* denotes primarily an inward ethical quality, whereas *fama* and the Greek *κλέος* signify more the opinion as

1) *Aen.* 10,144.

2) *Aen.* 12,322.

3) *Aen.* 9,277.

4) *Aen.* 11,154.

5) *Aen.* 11,708.

6) V. PöSCHL, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils*, p. 156.

7) *Aen.* 11,368-369.

8) *Aen.* 11,421.431.444.

held by others. Furthermore, *gloria* has a pacifist and anti-militaristic character, whereas military fame is *ventosa*. Only the glory of Rome is imperishable and consists primarily in the expansion of the Roman Empire throughout the world and the ensurance of peace to all nations. Glory is therefore principally accorded to Augustus as the founder of the empire and the *Pax Romana*, and as the descendant of Aeneas and Venus. It is a fusion of traditionally Roman, Augustan and literary-epic elements. *Gloria* is no longer a clearly defined concept having a definite meaning. It has lost its traditional signification and become a notion with a variable content.

Thus *gloria* also loses its specifically Roman character. Vergil applies it to Dido<sup>1)</sup>, to Turnus, to athletes<sup>2)</sup> and to gods<sup>3)</sup>. In the Georgics he even speaks of *divini gloria ruris*, *gloria palmarum* and of *generandi gloria mellis*<sup>4)</sup>. Both the word and the concept of *gloria* have assumed a general character, varying in meaning and partly artificial in content.

**Horace.** Horace speaks of the old Roman ideal of glory only in his Odes to the Roman people<sup>5)</sup>, for the rest he is not interested in military-political glory<sup>6)</sup>. He naturally metes out a large measure of glory to Augustus, but this glory has several un-Roman features, it is restricted to the emperor, is pacifist and anti-militaristic in character, it is connected with the deification of the emperor<sup>7)</sup>.

His own personal ideal is to gain glory as a poet, and in this glory he hopes to attain immortality: *multaque pars mei vitabit Libitinam usque ego postera crescā laude recens... princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos*<sup>8)</sup>. In this respect he is representative of his age, in which military-political glory as a civic ideal gradually disappears and fame acquired as a poet, historian or philosopher comes into prominence.

This process did not cease with the Augustan age. Neither Vergil nor Livy had been able to infuse new life into the old ideal of

1) *Aen.* 4,42-44; cf. R. HEINZE, *Virgils epische Technik*, p. 125.

2) *Aen.* 5,392-394.

3) Cf. *Aen.* 4,93; 2,218; 7,332.

4) *Georg.* 3,102; cf. 1,168, *divini gloria ruris*; and 4,205, *generandi gloria mellis*.

5) *Hor. carm.* 3,1-6; cf. 3,2,13 and 3,2,17.

6) *Carm.* 1,6,9-12.

7) *Carm.* 2,9,17-20; 3,14,1 ff.; 4,14,1-6; 4,15,1-3; 1,12; 3,5,2-4; etc.

8) *Carm.* 3,30,5-7 and 3,30,13-14.

glory. Their endeavours were too literary and artificial to produce a lasting result. Although it must be conceded that Vergil did not accord glory exclusively to Augustus, he already made the emperor the principal person on whom it was to be conferred. This process of eliminating others went on, till in the later stages of the empire nearly every ambition was stifled by the *invidia* of the Caesars, who claimed all glory for themselves<sup>1</sup>). And so glory was deprived of its old significance and became ethically a neutral concept. Ovid accords glory to the gods<sup>2</sup>), Pliny sings of the glory of the Licinian olive<sup>3</sup>); and Apuleius attributes glory to women and speaks of the *gloria muliebris*, though originally *gloria* was always associated with *vir* and *virtus*<sup>4</sup>). At the same time Stoic ideas begin to force their way into general consciousness; Seneca in particular was greatly influenced by them. He defends the proposition that *claritas* is a *bonum*, and defines it as follows: *bonum virorum secunda opinio*<sup>5</sup>). He regards the estimation in which a person is held by others, which is really extrinsic to the notion of glory, as the measure of honour and leaves the public interest entirely out of consideration. And so the process by which the notion of glory suffered a substantial depreciation during the time of the emperors, is a serious cultural loss.

Linguistically *gloria* loses its specific meaning. In ancient Rome it possessed a clearly-defined, precise meaning: military-political glory restricted to the city of Rome with the public interest for its standard. In its final stage of depreciation *gloria* is reduced to the vague and general notion of honourable fame which a person or thing enjoys with many or all people. When said of inanimate things no moral criterion is implied, but when it is attributed to human beings an external criterion is sometimes applied, viz. the moral judgement of the *boni*.

The traditional meaning of *gloria*, however, was not entirely lost, it continued as a historical and literary concept rather than a reflection of a living reality. It belonged to the glamour of a historic past and an imposing literature, and as such was still capable of firing the imagination.

With the rise of Christianity a new era commences in the

1) Tac. *ann* 1,10,3, cf. LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 175.

2) Ov. *met.* 1,469.

3) Plin. *nat.* 15,8.

4) Cf. KNOCHE, *Philologus*, 1934, p. 103.

5) Sen. *epist.* 102,6-7; LEEMAN, *Mnemosyne*, IV, V, 1, p. 57-78.

historical development of *gloria*. LEEMAN concludes his valuable study with the remark that among the Western Christians the old ideal of glory was replaced by the ideal of humility; the *magnitudo animi* was considered the root of all evil. 'Christianity', says LEEMAN, 'with its ideal of humility gives glory to God, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*'<sup>1</sup>). In the following pages we shall show that in Christian Latin *gloria* acquired a biblical content, though at the same time it remained the characteristic note of the *vir magnus*, but in the Christian sense of fame.

## B. THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE PROFANE IDEAL OF GLORY

as reflected in the usage of the word *Gloria*.

The Christians who lived during the persecutions adopted an entirely different attitude towards profane glory from those who lived under the Christian emperors. Therefore we shall deal with each period separately.

### 1. TERTULLIAN AND ST. CYPRIAN.

Tertullian uses the word *gloria* mostly in a profane signification. This may be readily understood, if we remember that he was more preoccupied in denouncing and satirizing un-Christian ways of life than in giving a reasonable justification of his religious and ethical rigorism. To Tertullian *gloria* belongs principally to the pagan sphere of life. On closer examination we find that he rarely employs *gloria* in a military-political meaning, but uses it chiefly of philosophers and women and always in a derogatory sense.

**Military-political glory.** Tertullian hardly seems to know of the ideal that once had inspired so many Romans to serve the republic and carry it to an unequalled height. Where he does make mention of it, he denounces it downright and shows nothing but contempt of it. *Sed et gloria ubique vana*<sup>2</sup>), he says, and in another place, *at enim nobis ab omni gloriae et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas coetus, nec ulla magis res aliena quam publica*<sup>3</sup>).

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1) LEEMAN, *Gloria*, 175.

2) *Patient.* 10,1 (C.Ch. I, 310,2-3).

3) *Apol.* 38,3 (C.Ch. I, 149,9-11).



When dealing with the *gloria martyrum*, he occasionally makes an appreciative reference to the fame of Lucretia, Mucius, Regulus and the *gloria Laconica*<sup>1)</sup> as parallel cases. This appreciation springs from his admiration for the martyrs rather than from his approval of profane glory. In St. Cyprian we observe the same tendency, when he compares the martyrs to soldiers and gladiators.

Tertullian was not conspicuous for his patriotism, a trait which he had in common with many other Christians of that period. State and paganism were identical terms in the Roman Empire and Tertullian therefore regarded love and service of the State as sinful as any other *amor terrestris*. 'Tout ce qui est gloire et intérêt de la patrie romaine, le laisse indifférent et il ne comprend plus qu'on s'en émeuve'<sup>2)</sup>. Moreover, what Tertullian saw in his days was only a relic of the glorious past. In the eyes of Tertullian Rome, though unshaken by the attacks of the barbarians, stood for the failure of all Augustan ideals, an emperor who persecuted the Christians at will<sup>3)</sup>, a powerless Senate which yielded to every caprice of the emperor, a servile populace unworthy of the name of Roman Citizens. Although Africa was then the most Romanized province of the empire<sup>4)</sup>, provincialism was still active, and at Carthage in particular the Romans were not regarded with unqualified admiration. Those considerations will help us to understand why the Christians looked with suspicion and disfavour upon the illustrious past of the empire, and why Tertullian felt justified in denouncing the empire of the Caesars as the realm of Satan<sup>5)</sup>.

Yet, Tertullian was no anarchist. He had not only a remarkable knowledge of law, but also respected it, just as the Christians always recognized the necessity of authority<sup>6)</sup>. All his attention, however, was one-sidedly concentrated on the Kingdom of Heaven. On

1) *Mart.* 4,6 (CChr. I, 6,36-7,17), *apol.* 50,5-9 (CChr. I, 170,20-41)

2) CH. GUIGNEBERT, *Tertullien Etude sur ses sentiments à l'égard de l'empire*, Paris 1901. On p. 181 he refers to *De corona* 13,7 (CChr. II, 1062,46-51), *Haec enim erunt pompae diaboli et angelorum eius: saeculi officia honores sollemnitates, popularitatis falsa vota, humana servitia, laudes vanae, gloriae turpes — et in omnibus istis idololatriae, in solo quoque censu coronarum, quibus omnia ista redimta sunt*

3) GUIGNEBERT 132 With regard to Tertullian's opinion of the emperors, cf. *apol.* 5,5-8 (CChr. I, 96,22-37) A. QUACQUARELLI, *La persecuzione secondo Tertulliano*, *Gregorianum* 31 (1950), p. 562-590 'Ad esempio nei riguardi di Settimo Severo Egli per quanto condanni la sua azione non può non riconoscere in questo Imperatore tutti i meriti che egli ha', p. 570.

4) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Tertullianus' Apologeticum*, p. XIV.

5) COCHRANE 227

6) A. D'ALÈS, *La théologie de Tertullien*, Paris 1905, p. 391ff.; GUIGNEBERT, 132; cf. *apol.* 32,1-2 (CChr. I, 142-143).

account of his uncompromizing attitude towards the false principles of the State he sometimes creates the impression of being a revolutionary and agitator. He only recognized the laws that were in agreement with his own intolerant religious views and like a prudish puritan avoided every contact with the pagan world<sup>1)</sup>. But his views did not represent the attitude of the Church, 'il torto di Tertulliano era quello di non vedere secondo quell' ampiezza di orizzonte storico, che già fin di allora la chiesa mostrava di avere' <sup>2)</sup>).

The same pessimistic view of the world is also found in the works of St. Cyprian, as is shown by a passage in his treatise *Ad Donatum*. He describes how he and Donatus survey the world and see corruption and agitation everywhere from the theatres down to courts of justice<sup>3)</sup>. For a clear understanding of this appalling description it is well to remember that it was written during the turbulent times of the barbarians, the persecutions, the plague and the general decline of the Roman Empire. Speaking about a gladiator St. Cyprian says of *gloria*: *gloria est quod perimit*<sup>4)</sup>, in another place he characterizes the Roman official thus: *fascibus ille oblectatus et honoribus esse privatus et inglorius non potest*<sup>5)</sup>. Such assertions do not betray a very high opinion of glory as it was sought after at the time. In the instances quoted he speaks of the *gloria* of a professional gladiator and the ambitious official who is more eager to boast of his honours and insignia than deserving well of his country. In his *Ad Donatum*, from which those quotations are taken, St. Cyprian does not speak as a prudent bishop, but as the fervent convert who is only aware of sharp contrasts. In his later works he hardly ever mentions profane glory; all his attention is then concentrated on preaching the Christian ideals of life, leaving him no time for tirades against paganism.

**'Gloria Philosophorum'.** According to Tertullian it is principally philosophers and women who display great eagerness for glory, each in their own way. In his negative attitude towards culture

<sup>1)</sup> With regard to the attitude of the Christians towards military service, see G LOPUSZANSKI, *La police romaine et les chrétiens*, *Antiquité Classique*, 20 (1951), p. 146

<sup>2)</sup> QUACQUARELLI 564

<sup>3)</sup> *Ad Donat* 5ff (CSEL 3,1 p. 3,7), cf G ELLSPERMANN, *The attitude of early christian writers toward pagan literature and learning*, p. 43-54, COCHRANE 154

<sup>4)</sup> *Ad Donat* 7 (CSEL 3,1, p. 9,5)

<sup>5)</sup> *Ad Donat.* 3 (CSEL 3,1, p. 5,15)

he condemns all philosophers as *homines gloriae... et eloquentiae solius libidinosos*<sup>1)</sup> or as a *gloriae animal*<sup>2)</sup>. He also says of them: *Inimice philosophi affectant veritatem et affectando corrumpunt, ut qui gloriam captant*<sup>3)</sup>, and adds that they prostitute sound reason and truth, *prae studio... eloquii quidem struere atque destruere eruditi magisque dicendo persuadentis quam docendo*<sup>4)</sup>. Here Tertullian also shows himself as the secessionist; he is the intransigent enemy of all culture and draws a sharp line of demarcation between faith and philosophy, between Jerusalem and Athens, *Quid Athenae Hierosolymis?*<sup>5)</sup>. In his writings, however, he makes use of the rules of dialectics and brings out points of similarity between philosophy and Christian doctrine as for instance in his apologetic works<sup>6)</sup>. But this should not be regarded as a conscious relaxation of his principles. In such cases he probably adopts the language of his pagan audience or, perhaps, involuntary proves the truism that nature passes nurture<sup>7)</sup>.

Tertullian's accusation of pride and vanity is mainly aimed at those vagrant philosophers, descendants of the second Sophistic School, and well-known for their eccentricities. This School had flourished in the first half of the second century, but had soon deteriorated to mere rhetorical ostentation and superficial proficiency in improvisations, 'une vanité sans bornes'<sup>8)</sup>. Several times the Roman government had taken steps to expel them for their subversive influence. Tertullian must certainly have met them in Rome and at Carthage<sup>9)</sup>.

His resentment against the Gnostic heresiarchs was even greater. They misled people by misinterpreting the Scriptures and propagated a strange mixture of philosophic and scriptural truths. They boasted of their knowledge of the Scriptures, whose sense they distorted<sup>10)</sup>.

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1) Tert. *apol.* 47,3 (CChr. I, 163,10-11); cf. *apol.* 19,1,6 (CChr. I, 120,29).

2) *Anim.* 1,2 (CChr. II, 782,17). — J. WASZINK understands it as *animal gloriosum*, but MOHRMANN translates 'un être adonné à la gloire', REL 29 (1951), p. 423.

3) *Apol.* 46,7 (CChr. I, 161,36-37).

4) *Anim.* 2,2 (CChr. II, 783,8-11).

5) COCHRANE 222.

6) E.g. *test. anim.* 4,9-10 (CChr. I, 180,50-59).

7) A. LABHARDT, *L'Attitude de Tertullien vis à vis de la philosophie*, REL 27 (1949), p. 73, ELLSPERMANN, p. 23-42.

8) GUIGNEBERT (p. 421) refers to Lucianus' *Hermotimos* 81.

9) *Cult. fem.* 1,7,2 (CChr. I, 349,8), *vidimus Romae*, cf. MOHRMANN, *Tertullianus' Apologeticum*, p. XXXIV.

10) *Nat.* 2,2,5 (CChr. I, 42,12-19).

Their only motive was vanity<sup>1)</sup>, Tertullian says, and he calls them *patriarchae haereticorum*<sup>2)</sup>. Other authors confirm that such reproachful terms were well merited. Yet, in censuring the philosophers Tertullian does not show sufficient discernment. His prejudiced mind is clearly borne out by the fact that he calls Socrates a *gloriae animal* and the famous discourse in which Socrates clearly professes his belief in the immortality of man, a piece of bravado to defy his unjust judges<sup>3)</sup>.

Tertullian's attitude towards philosophy is, to some extent, characteristic of the Christian mentality in general before 313 A.D., particularly in the West. In the East we find other extremes; Clement of Alexandria and Origenes, contemporaries of Tertullian, have unlimited faith in man's intellectual powers.

'*Gloria Muliebris*'. Tertullian is a misogynist. His tirades against women are often violent and even arresting. He gives an elaborate description of various articles of fashion, styles of hair-dress and cosmetics only to expose in detail the vanity of this glory, using the word *gloria* almost as the equivalent of 'show' or 'ostentation'. Ear-rings, precious stones, 'rouge' and 'noir' are all included under the *instrumentum istud muliebris gloriae*<sup>4)</sup>. He explicitly mentions love of glory as one of the motives why women wish to get married, *ceterum saecularis concupiscentia (scil. nubendi) causas habet gloriam, cupiditatem, ambitionem, insufficienciam...*<sup>5)</sup>.

It is even worse when virgins indulge in such vanities, for *nihil est illi (i.e. Deo) carius humilitate, nihil acceptius modestia, nihil operosius gloria et studio hominibus placendi*<sup>6)</sup>. It is most dangerous, too, and therefore they should cover their heads with

1) *Licet enim per curiositatem omnimodae literaturae inspicendae divinis quoque scripturis, ut antiquioribus, possint videri incursasse et inde nonnulla dempsisse, cum tamen alia expellant, probant sese aut non omnia dispexisse aut non omnibus credidisse..., et ita accedente libidine gloriae ad proprii ingenui opera mutasse*, Nat. 2,2,5 (C Chr I, 42,12-19).

2) *Anim.* 3,1 (C Chr II, 785,4), cf. *praescr.* 14,3-5 (C Chr. I, 198,8-12), *Fides, inquit (Christus), tua te salvum fecit, non exercitatio scripturarum. Fides in regula posita est, habet legem et salutem de observatione legis. Exercitatio autem in curiositate consistit, habens gloriam solam de peritiae studio. Cedat curiositas fides, cedat gloria salutis.*

3) *Anim.* 1,2 (C Chr II, 782,17).

4) *Cult. fem.* 1,2,1 (C Chr I, 344,10).

5) *Uxor.* 1,4,6 (C Chr I, 377,30-378,32).

6) *Virg. vel.* 16,2 (C Chr II, 1225,9-11); cf. *ib.* 13,2 (C Chr. II, 1223,22-23), *Gloria enim illicitum est eis quorum probatio in omni humilitatione constat.*

a veil, lest they should have to conceal their pregnancy afterwards<sup>1)</sup>.

No doubt, such tirades are partly explained by the excessive love of pomp and luxury women displayed in those days<sup>2)</sup>, but Tertullian's own rigorous bias in these matters cannot be ignored. A man who looked upon woman as the 'gateway to perdition' cannot be said to have had a balanced judgement based on sound asceticism.

At this stage of Christian Latin the word *gloria* is still able to denote military-political glory, the old pagan ideal, but, in fact, occurs only rarely in this sense. Where it still has its old meaning, it no longer expresses a living reality, but is merely an echo of the past, often with a rather derogatory nuance.

We also observe a gradual devaluation of the word *gloria*, beginning from the first century B.C. and reaching its lowest point in the Christian authors. For they applied it to the vanity of philosophers and feminine love of ostentation. It is even used of the servile obsequiousness of the parasite, who sells his freedom to fill his base stomach<sup>3)</sup>. *Gloria* is usually associated with *luxuria*<sup>4)</sup>, *divitiae*<sup>5)</sup>, *corona*<sup>6)</sup>, *spectacula*<sup>7)</sup> and other wordly amusements which so vehemently roused the indignation of Tertullian. *Gloria* is often qualified by fixed *epitheta deornantia* such as *saecularis*<sup>8)</sup>, *humana*<sup>9)</sup>, *vana*<sup>10)</sup>, *turpis*<sup>11)</sup>. Those pejorative epithets are not so much used to accentuate a contrast, as for instance the *gloria saecularis* against the *gloria caelestis*, but to stress the inherent malice of *gloria*.

All this makes it abundantly clear that for Tertullian and St. Cyprian *gloria* pertains to a way of life which Christians had to eschew and could only condemn. The total devaluation of *gloria*

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1) *Virg. vel.* 14,2 (C.Chr. II, 1223,8-10).

2) L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Sittengeschichte Roms* II, Leipzig 1922<sup>10</sup>, p. 315ff.: the luxury at the close of the second century.

3) *Apol.* 39,16 (C.Chr. I, 152,75-78).

4) *Cult. fem.* 2,11,1 (C.Chr. I, 366,5-6).

5) *Cult. fem.* 2,9,5 (C.Chr. I, 363,23-24); *adv. Marc.* 4,34,17 (C.Chr. I, 639, 18-19).

6) *Anim.* 52,3 (C.Chr. II, 859,24-25).

7) *Cult. fem.* 2,11,1 (C.Chr. I, 366,3-6).

8) *Cult. fem.* 1,8,6 (C.Chr. I, 351,28); *idol.* 9,4 (C.Chr. II, 1108,27); *ib.* 18,7 (C.Chr. II, 1120,25).

9) *Adv. Marc.* 4,9,9 (C.Chr. I, 560,23); *nat.* 2,7,5 (C.Chr. I, 51,19).

10) *Patient.* 10,1 (C.Chr. I, 310,3); *coron.* 13,7 (C.Chr. II, 1062,49); *pall.* 4,6 (C.Chr. II, 744,68); *adv. Marc.* 1,8,1 (C.Chr. I, 448,4).

11) *Coron.* 13,7 (C.Chr. II, 1062,49).

is the outcome of the negative and pessimistic attitude which the Christians of the second and third centuries adopted towards culture, and of which Tertullian is the most eloquent and extreme exponent.

A striking feature of Tertullian's style is his frequent use of *gloria* in its derivative meanings, when for instance he uses *gloria* for title to glory<sup>1)</sup>, ornament<sup>2)</sup>, magnificence<sup>3)</sup>, ambition or love of ostentation<sup>4)</sup>. This phenomenon is in keeping with his pregnant style, which generally lacks lucidity and is devoid of elaborate descriptions<sup>5)</sup>. The Christian authors in general, and Tertullian in particular, often allow themselves great liberties in the usage of words<sup>6)</sup>. These derivative meanings in Tertullian are usually found in connexion with profane things and occur in profane authors also, Statius e.g. speaks of *ardua coni gloria*<sup>7)</sup>. It would therefore appear far-fetched to assume, as RHEINFELDER does<sup>8)</sup>, that they derive from the biblical meaning of *gloria*. More likely, it is a direct development from Vergil's *Georgics* and Statius to Tertullian, marking no break in the profane use of *gloria*, but rather a continuation of it along progressive lines.

Finally, we also see the influence of philosophy, in that the Christian writers introduce the distinction between *vera* and *falsa gloria* in the Christianized terminology of *gloria saecularis* and *gloria caelestis*. At this juncture we only state the fact, as below we shall examine at greater length the exact content of the *gloria caelestis*.

## 2. ST. AMBROSE.

We are now dealing with the Christian Empire after 313 A.D.

1) *Ansm.* 24,3 (C.Ch. II, 816,17).

2) *Cult. fem.* 1,6,2 (C.Ch. I, 349,13).

3) *Cult. fem.* 2,10,2 (C.Ch. I, 365,12); 1,9,1 (C.Ch. I, 351,5); 2,9,5 (C.Ch. I, 364,24); *orat.* 20,2 (C.Ch. I, 268,7).

4) *Cult. fem.* 1,8,6 (C.Ch. I, 351,28); 1,9,2 (C.Ch. I, 351,16).

5) MOHRMANN, *Tertullianus' Apologeticum*, p. XCIII, E. NORDEN, *Die antike Kunstprosa* II, Leipzig 1909<sup>2</sup>, p. 607.

6) ST. TEEUWEN, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian*, Paderborn 1926, p. 3ff.; NORDEN, *Die antike Kunstprosa* II, p. 606.

7) *Theb.* 8,707.

8) H. RHEINFELDER, *Gloria, Festgabe für K. Vossler*, Münch. Rom. Arbeiten, I, München 1932, p. 46 'Die Bedeutungen 'Glanz', 'Pracht', 'Aufwand' liessen sich begrifflich auch aus den alten Bedeutungen herführen. Man darf aber in diesen Bedeutungen vor allem den Einfluss jener Verwendung vermuten, die sich zunächst auf den 'Ruhm' Gottes, seine 'Pracht und Herrlichkeit' erstreckt, auch zur Bezeichnung der himmlischen Seligkeit vorkommt'. According to him the meaning of 'splendour' derives via the language of the Liturgy from the Jewish-Christian literature.

Many political posts and offices pass into Christian hands. Christian thinkers set to work to select the good elements from ancient philosophy and science, and by incorporating them in the Christian doctrine saved the *spolia gentium* for posterity. We must therefore expect new aspects in the Christian attitude towards profane glory. In St. Ambrose we only find scattered indications of this new tendency, but penetrating deeper into the Christian principles St. Augustine adopts them as the basis for a full treatment of this problem.

'Gloria' in its derogatory sense. St. Ambrose predicates *gloria* also of philosophers, women, gladiators, sinners etc. in a derogatory sense. He speaks of *sapientes saeculi, qui omnem gloriam suam statuunt in expressione verborum*<sup>1</sup>). Some statements strongly resemble those of Tertullian; the following quotation is a clear example: *Haec est enim dialecticorum gloria, si videantur expugnare verbis et refellere veritatem*<sup>2</sup>). Such statements reflect the general aversion Christians felt to philosophers, and this antipathy occasioned certain government measures such as the Edict of 369 A.D., which ruled that wandering Sophists, 'riff-raff discovered to have assumed the philosophic habit without authority, should be rounded up and relegated to their places of origin'<sup>3</sup>). Even Plato found no favour in the eyes of St. Ambrose, *Ille honorem usurpavit... ille adrogavit gloriam*<sup>4</sup>).

His criticism is also directed against military-political glory. Ambition is classed with the basic vices of mankind, *causae autem cupiditatum sunt carnis oblectatio, species gloriae, aviditas potentiae*<sup>5</sup>). He also asserts that military glory is but vain and transitory, *magna videtur proeliantium victoria, triumphantium gloria, sed frequenter ipsos videmus... rursus bellis subiacere incertis*<sup>6</sup>). In most cases, however, he takes his arguments from the Scriptures, he adduces especially texts like *Iob* 14.2; *Is.* 40.6-8; *I Cor.* 1.31; of which the following quotations are clear instances: *Quid enim prodest cum ipsae divitiae et omnis gloria saecularis tamquam*

1) *Paen.* 2,5,32 (PL 16, 505 A).

2) *Incarn.* 4,31 (PL 16, 826 C).

3) COCHRANE 309.

4) *In psalm.* 118 *serm.* 16,11,1 (CSEL 62, p. 357,14).

5) *In Luc.* 4,34 (CSEL 32,4, p. 155,23).

6) *Cain et Ab.* 2,2,9 (CSEL 32,1, p. 385,16); cf. *gloria umbratilis, Iob* 3,1,1 (CSEL 32,2, p. 248,13).

*faenum cito arescat et tamquam holera herbarum ipsa specie sui floris intercidant?*<sup>1)</sup>. *Quantos pridie caterva plaudentium et invidiosa frequentis populi domum pompa deduxit: et nox una gloriosae illum splendorem deductionis abolevit...; huiusmodi igitur est gloria hominis*<sup>2)</sup>.

In his general repudiation of *gloria* he often refers to the example and preaching of Christ, which, he says, clearly show what attitude a Christian should adopt towards glory. The life of Christ presents an astounding indifference to human honour and glory, *pauper factus est nec gloriam aliquam istius saeculi requirebat*<sup>3)</sup>. Born as a descendant of Achab, Jechonias, Bethsabée and Thamar, He even rejected *nobilitatem... immaculatae originis*<sup>4)</sup>. Humility was His distinctive mark, *non dixit: discite a me quia gloriosus sum*<sup>5)</sup>. The obvious conclusion is that Christians should not indulge in love of glory or ambition, but should listen to Christ's warning, *non est meus vini crapula temulentus in lucem, ambitione gloriae saecularis ebrius in periculum, qui non possit sobriae moderationis servare vestigium*<sup>6)</sup> (here he recommends moderation!). Frequently he admonishes his flock: *non saeculari intendamus gloriae*<sup>7)</sup>.

**'Gloria' in its Favourable Sense.** St. Ambrose often betrays his Roman origin. In his *De Officiis*, for instance, he declares that fortitude is a loftier virtue than any other. It is true that St. Ambrose speaking to ecclesiastics has especially in mind that spiritual fortitude which constrains the flesh to obey reason. Still as a typical Roman St. Ambrose could not but speak of military glory as a virtue, an important characteristic of which was its contempt of death<sup>8)</sup>. And in this connexion he gives a lengthy description of military glory: *Quid autem tam contra naturam quam violare alterum tui commodi causa, cum pro omnibus excubandum, subeundas molestias, suscipiendum laborem naturalis affectus persuadeat et gloriosum unicuique ducatur, si periculis propriis quaerat universorum tranquillitatem multumque sibi unusquisque arbitretur gratius, excidia*

1) In psalm. 36,11,2 (CSEL 64, p. 77,19).

2) Hex. 3,7,30 (CSEL 32,1 p. 79,19).

3) In psalm. 118 serm. 14,33,2 CSEL 62, p. 320,8; cf. in Luc. 4,34 (CSEL 32,4, p. 155,23).

4) Apol. Dav. II, 6,33 (CSEL 32,2, p. 380,3-5).

5) In psalm. 118 serm. 14,16,2 (CSEL 62, p. 329,20).

6) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,40,2 (CSEL 62, p. 274,22).

7) In psalm. 118 serm. 8,8,1 (CSEL 62, p. 153,26).

8) DUDDEN II, 527.



*patriae reppulisse, quam propria pericula praestantiusque esse existimet, quod operam suam patriae impenderit, quam si in otio positus tranquillam vitam voluptatum copiis functus egisset*<sup>1)</sup>). In another place he describes a man who has devoted himself to the interests of society: *Ipse enim si se alius profuturum sciat, studiis augetur eaque gratia conectit populos, adcumulat caritatem civium, urbium gloriam*<sup>2)</sup>). We may therefore conclude that St. Ambrose repudiated immoderate military-political glory, but approves of it in its moderated form.

This military-political glory he attributes primarily to the emperor, since he regards the peace and safety of the Roman Empire mainly as the result of the strategy and courage of the emperor: *'Foris pax aut imperatoris sollicita providentia aut manu militum quaeritur, aut bellorum prospero cedit eventu aut inter-nicione aliqua barbarorum, si in se hostili motu sua arma convertant. In ea pace nulla nostra virtus, sed eventus est. Certe gloria pacis illius ad imperatorem refertur'*<sup>3)</sup>). In his funeral oration on Theodosius St. Ambrose extols his person and his glorious deeds and singles out for special mention his relaxation of the fiscal laws, the *lex indulgentiae*<sup>4)</sup>). He also speaks of the triumphs of his faith, but with those victories we shall deal later on; here we are only concerned with glory in its profane aspect. It is also noteworthy that *principum gloriosissime* and *gloria tua* and *clementia tua* had become imperial titles<sup>5)</sup>). Glory and fame are not only accorded to the emperor, but also to the Kings and patriarchs of the Old Testament. When St. Ambrose describes the heroes of the Hebrew people, they assume the character and virtue of a Stoic Roman. Abraham *victoriae securus processerat ad triumphum magis invitatus quam promptus ad gloriam vel ad ulciscendum pietatis dolorem paratus*<sup>6)</sup>). Saul is called *bellator... gloriae cupidus, incuriosus salutis*<sup>7)</sup>, and David especially is often represented as the model of a Christian prince. But this again is the Christian aspect of glory, with which we shall deal below. These instances show how widely the views of St. Ambrose differed from those

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1) *Off.* 3,3,23.

2) *Cain et Ab.* 2,3,12 (CSEL 32,1, p. 389,2).

3) *Iac.* 2,6,29 (CSEL 32,2, p. 49,6).

4) *Obit. Theod.* 5.

5) *Epist.* 1,1 (PL 16, 876 C); 1,2 (PL 16, 877 B); 1,10 (PL 16, 879 A).

6) *Abr.* 2,8,47 (CSEL 32,1, p. 600,16).

7) *Off.* 1,35,177.

of Tertullian and how much the times in which they lived had changed. Tertullian rejects every form of profane glory, but St. Ambrose, although he rejects glory in its immoderate form, explicitly calls the old ideal of glory, which implies moderation and conformity to the interests of the State, a *bonum*. And this form of glory he applies to the emperor and even to the heroes of the Old Testament. As an ethical justification of his view he introduces into his writings the following Stoic distinctions: *Prima sunt enim quae sunt animae bona, secunda quae corporis, id est salus virtus pulchritudo formae gratia, tertia sunt quae accidunt, hoc est divitiae potestates patria amici gloria*<sup>1)</sup>. Gloria is not an absolute *bonum*, but only in so far as it serves to protect absolute values, or to use his own words: men are clothed *velut quibusdam integumentis indifferentibus, quae sunt salus, valetudo bona, pulchritudo, inpigritia, divitiae, gloria, generis claritudo, ut ea dote muniti tueantur bonitatem naturae et malum illud includant, ne possit nocere, et quasi clausum strangulent*<sup>2)</sup>. Hence profane glory, if truly deserved, has a relative value; this interpretation saved the ancient ideal of glory. And St. Ambrose, himself a Roman and the son of a Roman officer, was the right man to save it. He repeats with emphasis: *Est sane, est quidam proprius bonorum actuum factorumque plausus, cuius sonus in orbem exeat et bene gestorum resultet gloria*<sup>3)</sup>.

### 3. ST. AUGUSTINE.

**His personal relation to 'gloria'.** For St. Augustine glory was a reality, towards which he had to determine his attitude, not only in theory, but also in practice. In his Confessions he tells us that glory, particularly literary glory, was the dominating factor in his life before his conversion: *Seducebamur et seducebamus... popularis gloriae sectantes inanitatem usque ad theatricos plausus et contentiosa carmina*<sup>4)</sup>. Even while he repudiates glory, he still fears the influence of his own vainglorious nature and says that the *amor laudis... cum a me in me arguitur, et saepe de ipso vanae gloriae contemptu vanius gloriatur*<sup>5)</sup>. Those words reveal not only his complete repudiation of it, but also his conscientious

1) *Abr.* 2,6,33 (CSEL 32,1, p. 590,20).

2) *Noe* 2,3 (CSEL 32,1, p. 447,8-14).

3) *In Luc.* 6,8 (CSEL 32,4, p. 234,23-26).

4) *Conf.* 4,1,1.

5) *Conf.* 10,38,63.

and anxious endeavour to rid himself of this propensity. For many years he had to fight against this proclivity, to which every one is prone by nature, but in a classical mind like his it is almost insuperable. In a letter to Darius his judgement is more human and dispassionate. He adapts himself in it to the mentality of the man of the world and he thanks him for his praises: *Neque enim mihi, ut ait quidam, 'cornea fibra est', ... etiam laudibus meis me delectatum in litteris tuis negare non possum*<sup>1)</sup>.

**'Gloria' in general.** From St. Augustine's definition of glory, it is clear that according to him the essence of profane glory is the esteem in which a person is held by others: *hominum laudem, quod est vana gloria*<sup>2)</sup>, or as Cicero defines it, *frequens de aliquo fama cum laude*<sup>3)</sup>. He usually subjoins the qualification that the opinion of others is of little importance, since a man's actual conduct, the truth borne out by his life, is the only important factor. *Quod ait Ennius 'omnes mortales sese laudari exoptant' partim adprobandum partim cavendum. Ut enim appetenda est veritas, quae procul dubio est, etiam si non laudetur, sola laudabilis, sic ea, quae facile subrepat, vanitas in hominum laude fugienda est; haec est autem, cum vel ipsa bona quae laudatione digna sunt, non putantur habenda, nisi laudetur ab hominibus homo, vel ea quoque vult in se multum quisque laudari, quae aut exigua laude aut etiam vituperatione digniora sunt*<sup>4)</sup>. It is dangerous to attach any value to the judgement of the masses, *gloria stultorum. popularis illa quae dicitur, habet illecebram deceptionis, ut ad laudes vanorum hominum quisque commotus, velit sic vivere, ut praedicetur ab hominibus quibuscumque, quomodocumque*<sup>5)</sup>. In *De Civitate Dei*, however, impressed by the fall of Rome he recognizes a true glory, even though it be profane. This is based on the judgement of the *boni* or *bene iudicantes*, or in his own words, *qui veram licet humanarum laudum gloriam concupiscunt, dant operam bene iudicantibus non displicere*<sup>6)</sup>.

Here also *gloria* is allotted a relative value; *gloriam ... non*

1) *Epist.* 231,2 (CSEL 57, p. 505,2-11).

2) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 29,1 (PL 37, 1585); cf. *civ.* 5,12, *laudabilia scilicet atque gloriosa secundum hominum aestimationem*.

3) In *evang. ioh.* 100,16,1 (PL 35, 1891).

4) *Epist.* 231,3 (CSEL 57, p. 505,22).

5) In *psalm.* 149,10 (PL 37, 1954); cf. *epist.* 112,2 (CSEL 34,2 p. 658,4).

6) *Civ.* 5,19.

*debet sequi virtus, sed ipsa virtutem*<sup>1)</sup>). Nevertheless he maintains that profane glory often plays a valuable and effective part in life, which is not to be ignored either in military or political affairs, nor in literature or culture. In this connexion he does not lay emphasis on military fame, and when in a letter to Darius he expresses his pacifist ideas with regard to glory, his words have a Vergilian ring: *Magni quidem sunt et habent gloriam suam non solum fortissimi, sed etiam, quod verioris origo laudis, fidelissimi bellatores et quorum laboribus atque periculis dei protegentis atque opitulantis auxilio hostis indomitus vincitur, quies reipublicae pacatisque provinciis comparatur; sed maioris est gloriae bella verbo occidere quam homines et ferro acquirere vel obtinere pacem pace non bello*<sup>2)</sup>).

St. Augustine recognizes glory as an important factor in society, in the State and even in the Church. This can also be said of the *gloria popularis*, because *cum laudantur non laudatis, sed laudantibus prodest*<sup>3)</sup>. In his treatise *Contra Faustum* he enlarges upon this theme and considers the *famam bonam: non eam quae confertur, cum laudant homines pauci iusti atque sapientes, sed illam popularem, qua etiam maior et clarior notitia comparatur, non ipsa per se expetenda, sed intentioni bonorum, qua generi humano consulunt, pernecessaria*. For *licet parum sapiant, reddunt tamen plerumque labori eorum, per quos sibi consulitur, et splendorem laudis et odorem bonae intentionis*<sup>4)</sup>. As a rule only important men occupying leading positions acquire this glory, but they can further the glory of wise men who have left the world to lead a contemplative life: *bonum est, ut etiam haec vita latius innotescens popularem gloriam mereatur*. Nevertheless this way of obtaining *gloria popularis* cannot be defended if those thinkers or ascetics, after having obtained it, should refuse to undertake the duties of a public office *propter turbulentas occupationes*, though they have the necessary talents to rule. For glory is a reward and a compensation for the burdens connected with public responsibility. And that is the reason why, according to him, both *gloria popularis* and glory in the eyes of the *boni* play an important part in practical life.

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1) *Civ.* 5,12.

2) *Epist.* 229,2 (CSEL 57, p. 497,18-498,5).

3) *Epist.* 231,4 (CSEL 57, p. 506,13).

4) *c. Faust.* 22,56-57 (CSEL 25,1, p. 652,1-653,18).

**The Historical Glory of Rome.** This subject is dealt with at great length in *De Civitate Dei*. The most striking characteristic of a Roman was his craving for glory. *Quid aliud amarent quam gloriam qua volebant etiam post mortem tamquam vivere in ore laudantium?*<sup>1)</sup> He fiercely attacks his pagan contemporaries for being *longe ab eis ipsis Romanis degeneres, quorum praeclara multa laudantur et litterarum memoria celebrantur, imo illorum gloriae vehementer adversi*<sup>2)</sup>. And he adds that Camillus did not know any country *ubi posset vivere gloriosius*<sup>3)</sup>.

St. Augustine does not recognize every glorious fact of Roman history as such. Virtue, he maintains, is the only path to glory. But many Romans have used cruelty and disloyalty to win glory. Such stratagems were employed to defeat Alba Longa, *et sui sceleris laudem gloriam nominabat*<sup>4)</sup>. He makes no scruple in censuring such famous Romans as Iunius Brutus, Regulus and others<sup>5)</sup>.

But the fall of Rome had aroused patriotic sentiments, also among the Christians. Therefore Cato and many others are held up by St. Augustine as examples of genuinely glorious men, who strove after glory by practising true virtue<sup>6)</sup>. The glorious expansion of the Roman Empire and Rome's great literature command his genuine admiration. His remark that the Romans *cupiditate humanae laudis et gloriae non quidem iam sancti, sed minus turpes sunt*<sup>7)</sup>, shows clearly that the noble aspirations of the Romans did not fail to make an impression on him. Their ambitions and successes were, according to him, not the fortuitous outcome of chance or destiny, but were planned by Providence. God intended the glory of the empire in the first place as a reward for virtue (*si neque hanc eis terrenam gloriam excellentissimi imperii concederet, non redderetur merces bonis artibus eorum, id est virtutibus*)<sup>8)</sup>, and secondly as that it might be an example to the Christians, *ut cives aeternae illius civitatis... illa intueantur exempla et videant quanta dilectio debeatur supernae patriae*

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1) *Civ.* 5,14; cf. *epist.* 217, III, 10 (CSEL 57, p. 411,4).

2) *Civ.* 2,2.

3) *Civ.* 5,18; *civ.* 5,15, *hodieque litteris et historia gloriosi sunt paene in omnibus gentibus.*

4) *Civ.* 3,14.

5) *Civ.* 3,16; cf. *civ.* 3,10-18.

6) *Civ.* 5,12.

7) *Civ.* 5,13.

8) *Civ.* 5,15.

*propter vitam aeternam, si tantum a suis civibus terrena dilecta est propter hominum gloriam*<sup>1)</sup>).

Although he admires the glory of Rome, he points out that the City of God in this respect is the contrary of the City of men; the former does not seek its own glory but God's, and the difference between the two Cities therefore consists in the antithesis of humility and pride<sup>2)</sup>.

'*Gloria Philosophorum*'. It is the same basic vice, *superbia*, which according to St. Augustine, also corrupts every other field of pagan life, especially philosophy. He mentions philosophers in one breath with heretics. He repudiates the *philosophorum subtilis et acuta loquacitas*<sup>3)</sup>. *Amor sapientiae non est in omnibus, qui hoc nomine gloriantur*<sup>4)</sup>. He characterizes Diogenes as *gloria-bundus* for his eccentric and disgraceful behaviour<sup>5)</sup>. Already in his *Contra Academicos* he ridicules the Sceptics and suggests that the degree of philosophic glory should increase in proportion to the degree of scepticism. In his subsequent *Retractationes* he apologizes for this irony: *quamvis iocando dictum sit et magis ironia dicebatur, non debuit tamen dici*<sup>6)</sup>.

Heretics also are charged with relying entirely on reason, *haereticus est . . . qui alicuius temporalis commodi et maxime gloriae principatusque sui gratia falsas ac novas opiniones vel gignit vel sequitur*<sup>7)</sup>. Likewise the Pelagians seek to win glory through their theory of man's free will<sup>8)</sup>.

Yet St. Augustine does not look upon philosophy as the *cathedra pestilentiae*<sup>9)</sup>. On the contrary, he often assigns fame and glory to Plato and his followers<sup>10)</sup>, although it is true that more often he identifies philosophy with intellectual self-conceit, and therefore considers it an obstacle to faith.

1) *Civ.* 5,16.

2) *Civ.* 14,28, *Illam enim quaerit ab hominibus gloriam, huic autem Deus conscientiae testis maxima est gloria*; cf. *catech. rud.* 19,31; L. ELFERINK, *Het oordeel van de Kerkvader Augustinus over de Romeinse Oudheid*, p. 34. COCHRANE 489.

3) *Civ.* 18,24; cf. ELLSPERMANN 222.

4) *Civ.* 8,1.

5) *Civ.* 14,20.

6) *C. acad.* 3,7,16 (CSEL 63, p. 58,14) — 3,8,17 (CSEL 63, p. 59,28); *retract.* 1,1,13 (CSEL 36, p. 17,14-15).

7) *Util cred.* 1,1 (CSEL 25,1, p. 1,8).

8) *C. Pelag.* 4,12,34 (CSEL 60, p. 570,11).

9) *In Psalm.* 1,1 (PL 36,67); cf. *civ.* 13,16, *Se Platonicos vocari vel esse gloriantur, cuius superbia nominis erubescunt esse Christiani*.

10) *Civ.* 8,4; 8,6; 1,36; 18,2.

#### 4. ST. LEO THE GREAT.

In the writings of St. Leo we do not meet with many new aspects in the usage of *gloria*. In his correspondence he often uses *gloria* with reference to the emperor<sup>1</sup>). But with this we shall deal later.

As we have said already, after 313 A.D. profane glory was often used in a derogatory sense, but not exclusively so. The word *gloria* acquired a neutral character as a consequence of the evolution of Christian ideas and the more critical discernment of the Christians with regard to *gloria*. To emphasize its derogatory sense *gloria* was often qualified by adjectives such as *vana*, *insana* and *saecularis*. In the sense of 'glory in the eyes of the *boni*' or even 'in the eyes of the masses' sometimes, it had a more or less favourable meaning; without any qualifying adjective it merely meant *laus hominum*. It had reverted therefore to its former meaning in the first century. This again shows that in the fourth century Christian and profane Latin come nearer to each other. The exclusively unfavourable meaning *gloria* had in the third century, had disappeared by then.

The contrast between *gloria caelestis* and *gloria saecularis* remained. This contrast, as we have seen, corresponds to the Stoic distinction between *vera et falsa gloria*, but transposed into the Christian atmosphere and reflecting the sharp contrast between pagan society and the Christian community. It is rather strange that both antitheses occur in ethical treatises of Christian writers of the fourth century. The Stoic distinction was taken over in its original meaning, but retained its place alongside of the Christian antithesis of *gloria caelestis* - *gloria saecularis*. This made the distinction more subtle and its criticism more complicated.

When used of the emperor *gloria*, and particularly *gloriosus*, had developed into a formula or title. Both *Clementissimus* and *Gloriosissimus* had become pre-eminently the title of the emperor. It is the logical evolution of *gloria* from Vergil and Horace to St. Ambrose and St. Leo the Great.

In one instance St. Augustine uses the word *gloriabundus* of Diogenes in the sense of vainglorious, boastful<sup>2</sup>). In classical Latin

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<sup>1</sup>) *Epist.* 31,3 (PL 54, 793 A), *obsecro gloriosam clementiam tuam; epist.* 43 PL 54, 821 A), *gloriosissimo et serenissimo Theodosio imperatori...*

<sup>2</sup>) *Civ.* 14,20.

the word *gloriosus* would have been used to express this idea (cf *miles gloriosus*). Apparently for St. Augustine *gloriosus* did no longer adequately express this notion and he therefore used *gloria-bundus*. The fact that *gloriosus*, being frequently used in its Christian sense, had, to some extent, lost its former unfavourable connotation, may account for this sense-shift.

### C. GLORIA MARTYRUM

We now return to the latter part of the second century, when the Western Christians refused every compromise with the world or with pagan ideas. They completely rejected the pagan ideal of glory and this created the antithesis of *gloria saecularis* - *gloria caelestis*. In this antithesis *gloria caelestis* was not considered as a species or nuance of the profane idea of glory, but was a completely new notion. This new notion was the conception of the early Christian's ideal of perfection. In its new and revolutionary features it evinced the irresistible strength of Christian conviction.

#### 1. TERTULLIAN.

**Gloria placendi Deo.** Tertullian boldly and forcibly emphasizes the contrast between Christianity and paganism. He sets the *gloria placendi Deo* of the Christians<sup>1)</sup> against the *gloria et studium hominibus placendi* of the heathens<sup>2)</sup>. Human opinion is of no importance to the Christian, only God's judgement is unchangeable and eternal, *a Deo non ab hominibus captanda gloria est*<sup>3)</sup>. By refusing the laurel wreath a soldier lost his glory in the eyes of men, but gained greater glory in the eyes of God: *O militem gloriosum in deo*<sup>4)</sup>.

The Christian attitude towards his right to glory was also entirely different, as is evident from Tertullian, who, in an oxymoron, says of a Christian: *si denotatur, gloriatur*<sup>5)</sup>. Christian glory consists principally in the heroic practice of virtue: *De his gloriam carpamus de quibus salutem speramus*<sup>6)</sup>. In his *Ad martyras* he keeps this new ideal before all Christians and before

1) *Apol.* 50,2 (C.Ch. I, 169,10); cf. *virg. vel.* 3,3 (C.Ch. II, 1211,20).

2) *Virg. vel.* 16,2 (C.Ch. II, 1225,11).

3) *Virg. vel.* 2,3 (C.Ch. II, 1211,21-22).

4) *Coron.* 1,2 (C.Ch. II, 1039,13).

5) *Nat.* 1,1,10 (C.Ch. I, 12,4-5); cf. *apol.* 1,12 (C.Ch. I, 87,64-65).

6) *Cult. fem.* 2,3,3 (C.Ch. I, 356,20).



the *martyres designati*<sup>1)</sup> in particular: a glory which a Christian, as another gladiator<sup>2)</sup>, can win by defending his faith and dying a martyr's death for it. This parallel between martyrs and gladiators or *athletae* is carried through into details<sup>3)</sup>. Tertullian imagines himself to be a spectator and from his seat he watches and encourages the gladiators<sup>4)</sup>. He then wonders why those swordsmen really fight, and his answer is: *coronas scilicet et gloriam et dotem... imagines, statuas et, qualem potest praestare saeculum, de fama aeternitatem. de memoria resurrectionem*<sup>5)</sup>. In the same way the martyrs will win eternal glory: *bonum agonem subituri estis, in quo agonothetes deus vivus est, xystarches spiritus sanctus, corona aeternitatis, brabium angelicae substantiae, politia in coelis, gloria in saecula saeculorum*<sup>6)</sup>. Although the flesh is weak and naturally dreads the sword, the fire, and the wild beasts, many men and even women have endured all these *famae et gloriae causa*. If Lucretia, Mucius and Regulus were prepared to suffer so much for the sake of *gloria terrena* and *laus hominum*, Christians should certainly deem those sufferings insignificant *ad consecutionem gloriae caelestis et divinae mercedis*<sup>7)</sup>.

However, the ultimate object is not the glory of the martyr himself, but the glory of God. God is the 'agonothet' who offers the prize and Himself acts as the arbiter in the contest. He starts the 'agon' only for His own glory, *Totum, quod agitur in persecutione, gloria dei est, probantis et reprobantis, imponentis et deponentis*<sup>8)</sup>. No one is allowed therefore to flee or ransom himself: *quomodo et martyria fieri possunt in gloriam Domini, si tributo licentiam sectae compensaremus?*<sup>9)</sup>.

Besides *gloria* we also find *gloriari* and *gloriosus* in this connexion; the scars of the martyr for instance are called *gloriosus*, *et tamen illae cicatrices christiano proelio insculptae et utique invidiosae apud Christum, quia vicisse cupierunt, et sic quoque gloriosae, quia non vincendo cesserunt*<sup>10)</sup>. This is remarkable,

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1) *Mart.* 1,1, (C.Ch. I, 3,2), these are imprisoned martyrs awaiting martyrdom.

2) *Mart.* 1,2 (C.Ch. I, 3,9).

3) *Mart.* 3,4 (C.Ch. I, 6,1).

4) *Mart.* 1,2 C.Ch. I, 3,9-12).

5) *Scorp.* 6,4 (C.Ch. II, 1079,23-26).

6) *Mart.* 3,3 (C.Ch. I, 5,23-26).

7) *Mart.* 4,9 (C.Ch. I, 7,21).

8) *Fug.* 1,5 (C.Ch. II, 1136, 42-43).

9) *Fug.* 12,8 (C.Ch. II, 1152,90-92).

10) *Pudic.* 22,15 (C.Ch. II, 1330,65-68).

since *gloriosus* had assumed a more or less unfavourable meaning in profane Latin.

**Status quaestionis.** The texts quoted above create the impression of forming one coherent group of cognate ideas and motives attaching to a fixed concept, the *gloria martyrum*, which in this connexion means the renown of the martyrs. This has led KNOCHE <sup>1)</sup> to say, and STEINHEIMER <sup>2)</sup> agrees with him, that *gloria martyrum* derives, by sense-restriction, from the classical *gloria*.

In some cases there can be no doubt about the meaning of *gloria*, e.g. where Tertullian speaks of *gloria placendi deo* <sup>3)</sup>, but there are other cases where its meaning is difficult to define, e.g. in *cult. fem.* 2,3,3 and *mart.* 3,3 <sup>4)</sup>. Moreover, must we not expect that for Christians, and for Tertullian in particular, *gloria* had not only a Christian meaning, but also a biblical one? Following this line of argument we have to understand *gloria* in the texts quoted as the heavenly glory and splendour to be awarded to the martyrs in the next world. Hence we advance the question whether it is not possible that *gloria martyrum* has derived from the Bible.

This question cannot be solved satisfactorily in a few words. To give a well-founded opinion on this question requires firstly a clear understanding of the concept of *martyrium* as used in the Bible, and secondly an equally clear idea of martyrdom as understood by Tertullian and his contemporaries. Only then we shall be able to determine the motives and ideas implied in the *gloria martyrum* and to show how they originated.

**'Martyrium' in the New Testament.** The idea of bearing witness to Christ is found throughout the New Testament. The Synoptics, however, use the terms *μαρτυρεῖν* and *μαρτύριον* only in a profane juridical sense, and never in the theological meaning of St. John, viz. a personal testimony of one's faith in Christ. For this the Synoptics use *κηρύττειν* (*praedicare*) and *ἐξομολογεῖσθαι* (*confiteri*), both related in meaning to *μαρτυρεῖν*, but nevertheless distinct from it <sup>5)</sup>. *Praedicare* and *confiteri* are, as we see it, only

<sup>1)</sup> *Philologus* 89 (1934), p. 123.

<sup>2)</sup> STEINHEIMER 24 and 38.

<sup>3)</sup> *Apol.* 50,2 (C.Chr. I, 169,10).

<sup>4)</sup> *Cult. fem.* 2,3,3 (C.Chr. I, 356,20). *De his gloriam carpatas de quibus salutem speramus; mart.* 3,3 (C.Chr. I, 5,26).

<sup>5)</sup> Cf. H. RHEINFELDER, *Confiteri, confessio, confessor*, Die Sprache, 1 (1949), p. 56ff.; W. BAUER, *Wörterbuch z. NT, s.vv.*; TW. z. NT. III, 701ff (*κηρύττω*); IV, 499ff. (*μάρτυς*); V, 211ff. (*ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*).

specialized forms of *testificari*. *Praedicare* being mostly used in connexion with St. John the Baptist, Christ and the Apostles has the more formal meaning of bearing witness in virtue of one's office, while *confiteri* used of Christians in general lacks this formal mark. *Confiteri* indicated praise of God's greatness and confession of one's own weakness; it presupposed belief in God, but itself did not mean manifesting one's belief in God. It implied belief in God, but did not express it explicitly as it did in later Christian Latin. VON CAMPENHAUSEN does not sufficiently distinguish between those three notions, though he is right in saying that only slight indications of the idea of *μαρτύριον* are found in the Synoptics, St. Paul and the Acts<sup>1)</sup>.

In the Synoptics' account of Christ's instruction to the Apostles, it is striking that they are sent out to teach not like the pharisees, but as confessors and messengers who will speak before tribunals; there will be no need for them to look for tribulations and afflictions, for these will come to them uninvited and unsought<sup>2)</sup>. St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, also was a witness of Christ. His death as a martyr was a consequence of his missionary work and on a level with all the other tribulations which his apostolate entailed<sup>3)</sup>. In the Acts of the Apostles St. Luke lays particular stress on the historical character of the apostolic testimony and continually emphasizes the fact that it is as eye-witnesses that the Apostles bear testimony to Christ and His resurrection<sup>4)</sup>. In all those cases there is mention of bearing testimony in word and deed; and this testimony is only complete if confirmed by death, though bearing testimony by death is not emphasized. St. Paul says explicitly that he desires to be dissolved and be with Christ, but he is also willing to stay with his Christians to bear witness to Christ, *magnificabitur Christus in corpore meo sive per vitam sive per mortem*<sup>5)</sup>.

But St. John has a different idea of the martyr. According to him a martyr is one who bears testimony by shedding his

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1) F. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee des Martyriums*, Göttingen 1936. Cf. TW. z. NT. IV, 507.

2) *Matth.* 9.35-11.1, especially 10.18.

3) *II Cor.* 11.23-33; cf. *Phil.* 1.20-25. — v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee des Martyriums*, p. 10: 'Von einem fest geprägten Ideal des Martyriums zu reden, wäre auch bei Paulus noch verfrüht'.

5) *Act.* 1.8; 1.21; 2.32; 3.15; 5.32; 10.39-41.

4) *Phil.* 1.20.

blood<sup>1)</sup>. This conception of martyrdom has its foundation in the theology of St. John, especially in his Christology which sees Christ as the *Λόγος*, the *Testimonium* and the *Verbum*. Christ Himself is the Word and the Truth. His life consists in bearing testimony that 'the world may believe that Thou (the Father) hast sent Me'<sup>2)</sup>. Christ demands faith in His divinity and this faith is from God, for it is the Spirit Who bears testimony to Christ. After Christ's death this testimony lives on in the Christians, especially in the Apostles<sup>3)</sup>. Whosoever believes in Christ bears testimony to Christ through the Spirit. This testimony is not supported by historical arguments as in St. Luke, but springs from faith<sup>4)</sup>.

The final stage of *μαρτύριον* in the strict sense of the word is reached in the Apocalypse, where bearing testimony is connected with the eschatological phenomena at the end of the world: the conflict of good and evil in the world, the impending combat and persecution awaiting all Christendom<sup>5)</sup>. The word *μάρτυς* occurs five times, each time in a martyriological sense<sup>6)</sup>, twice it is used of Christ Himself<sup>7)</sup>. St. John's line of argument is as follows: Christ came to bear testimony, after His death this is taken over by the Apostles and the Christians who become witnesses to the Faith by imitating Christ and by dying for it at the hands of the powers of evil. Here martyrdom is seen as a moment in the history of man's salvation: there must be testimony of the Christians<sup>8)</sup>, for God speaks to the world through the testimony of the Christians. God therefore assumes the responsibility for it through the Holy Spirit<sup>9)</sup>. This testimony addressed to all mankind, even to the

1) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 53: 'Es erscheint an und für sich nicht unwahrscheinlich, dass die Offenbarung, in der dieser (i.e. the title of martyr) erstmalig in eindeutig martyrologischer Zuspitzung erscheint, den Begriff der Blutzugehen auch erschaffen hat bzw. dessen Bildung, die unter dem Eindruck der schärfer werdenden Verfolgung vor sich ging, unmittelbar widerspiegelt'. Cf. E. PETERSON, *Les Témoins de la Vérité*, p. 10. TW. z. NT. IV, 500.

2) *Ioh.* 17.22; 18.37; Christ was the Truth, cf. *Ioh.* 5.33; 14.6; 14.9ff. G. BULTMANN, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, p. 118 (*μαρτυρία* - *λόγος*); 507 (*ἀλήθεια*). DODD 170, 263.

3) *Ioh.* 3.28; 14.12; 15.26; 19.35. BULTMANN 126 and 221,3.

4) BULTMANN 198. TW. z. NT. IV, 500 and 504.

5) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 42ff., E. PETERSON, *Les Témoins de la Vérité*, 34: 'pour le christianisme originel tout entier la tribulation, la souffrance n'est jamais une épreuve purement individuelle, mais toujours une expérience vécue par la communauté'.

6) *Apoc.* 1.5; 2.13; 3.14; 11.3; 17.6.

7) *Apoc.* 1.5; 3.14.

8) Cf. *Marc.* 13.10: *δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι*.

9) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, p. 90, and M. VILLER, *Les martyrs et l'esprit*, RSR 14 (1924), p. 544-551.

persecutors, involves a judgement: if they accept the testimony, it becomes their justification, if they reject it, it is their condemnation<sup>1)</sup>. For the individual martyr it was only a question of death or denial, of reward or punishment respectively. The personal aspect of martyrdom is not stressed, the fate of the individual martyr is merged into the super-individual, eschatological process. Even if the martyr's testimony should fail to meet with success, his *μαρτύριον* remains part of the divine plan without losing its meaning or purpose.

The Apocalypse makes no sharp distinction between martyrs and Christians that escape martyrdom without denying their faith<sup>2)</sup>. Viewed in the light of persecution, from which no Christian will be spared, the faithful Christian is on the same level as the martyr<sup>3)</sup>, the heavenly *δόξα* awaits them both. This is the reason why in apostolic times no special honour or veneration was given to the martyrs<sup>4)</sup>. Martyrdom was considered a normal part of Christian life, which obliged the Christian to imitate Christ. 'La persecuzione non cadeva con lo sconcerto dell'improvisto, ma rientrava nell'economia originaria della nuova religione'<sup>5)</sup>.

From this summary we may conclude that in the Scriptures both *gloria* and *δόξα* are, indeed, used in connexion with martyrdom, but only in the sense of heavenly splendour considered as the reward of both martyrs and ordinary Christians, between whom no clear distinction is made.

**Martyrdom in Tertullian.** In the second century Christian authors do not pay much attention to the Christological background of the idea of martyrdom<sup>6)</sup>. The emphasis shifts markedly from the testimony of the martyr to his sufferings and tortures, especially under the influence of increasing persecution<sup>7)</sup>. As a rival to *μάρτυς* the new term *παθών* makes its appearance; as a title and

1) *Apoc.* 6.10: *non vindicas sanguinem nostrum de us, qui habitant in terra?*; *apoc.* 19.2, cf. *II Cor.* 2.15-16, *Christi bonus odor sumus Deo in us, qui salvi sunt, et in us, qui pereunt; aliis quidem odor mortis in mortem, aliis autem odor vitae in vitam.* Cf. BULTMANN 209 (*μαρτυρία - κολοίς*)

2) *Apoc.* 6.9-11, cf. E.-B. ALLO, *Saint Jean L'Apocalypse*, p. 87, *apoc.* 11.4-7, ALLO 132, 'tous les bons prédicateurs de l'Evangile', *apoc.* 20.4ff., cf. ALLO 286, 'C'est le règne indivis de l'Eglise militante et triomphante, une des idées maîtresses de l'Apocalypse'.

3) *Apoc.* 20.4ff.

4) H. SURKAU, *Martyrien in jud. u. frühchr. Zeit*, p. 141.

5) QUACQUARELLI 564.

6) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 55 and 108ff.

7) SURKAU 143.

technical term the word *μάρτυς* gains the ascendancy, but acquires the notional content of *παθών*<sup>1)</sup>. Thus the imitation of Christ assumes increasingly an outward character. The intrinsic analogy between the *Λόγος* and the martyr as a witness is lost sight of, and henceforth the stress falls on the similarity between the martyr and the crucified Christ. As a consequence, the person and his sufferings, the achievements of the individual martyr, come to the fore, and with them the particular honour and glory which distinguish the martyr from other Christians. The New Testament texts are still quoted, but are no longer fully applicable to the altered circumstances. New theological concepts reflect the change of meaning of *μαρτύριον*; none of those theological interpretations go back to its origin.

Contrary to St. Paul, who, after all, was indifferent to life or death<sup>2)</sup>, Ignatius of Antioch wished for nothing but death<sup>3)</sup>. In his letters he states explicitly that his only fear is, that a martyr's death should escape him through being acquitted or through such faults of his own as anticipating his glory and the like. With him the stress is on minute imitation such as would almost approximate to a repetition of Christ's sufferings<sup>4)</sup>. Through his sufferings the martyr goes directly to God: his martyrdom, however, is not intended to be a personal privilege for the martyr only, but the martyr as a unspotted victim also gives honour to God, and is sacrificed for the benefit of the community<sup>5)</sup>. In the *Martyrium Polycarpi* we meet almost the same ideas; it goes a step further, though, in that we see here for the first time that the martyr is admired and glorified, even though ultimately all honour is referred to God<sup>6)</sup>. So also in the *Pastor Hermæ* martyrdom is represented as the finest opportunity for those who desire to excel their fellow-Christians in pious and heroic achievements<sup>7)</sup>.

Opposing the increasing emphasis on the external aspect of

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1) *Pastor Hermæ* speaks of martyrs only as *πάθοντες* cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 52 and 63; G. BARTELINK, *Lexicologisch-semantic studie over de taal van de Apostolische Vaders*, p. 143.

2) *Phil.* 1.20.

3) Ignatius, *Ep. Rom.* 4,1; 7,2; 8,3; cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 69ff.; SURKAU 133; H. BADEN, *Der Nachahmungsgedanke im Polykarp-martyrium*, *Theologie und Glaube*, 3 (1911), p. 115-122.

4) *Trall.* 4,1: he identifies the *μίμησις* of Christ with *πάθος*; cf. *Rom.* 6,3.

5) *Rom.* 2,2ff.; cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 72.

6) *Mart. Pol.* 19,1; 19,3; 14,1; cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 79ff.

7) *Pastor Hermæ*, *Sim.* 8,3,6-8; *Vis.* 3,1,9; v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 108.

imitating Christ and of martyrdom in particular, the Gnostics laid one-sided stress on the inward disposition. A reaction against this view was bound to set in, and, in fact, did come from the Montanists especially, who made a most firm stand against the Gnostics in the second century<sup>1</sup>). The Montanists proclaimed that the end of the world and the great final struggle were at hand, and fulminated against every form of tepidity and fear of suffering and whatever they regarded as such.

It is in the light of such historical circumstances that we have to see the views held by Tertullian. There were no important points of difference between the views of the Montanists and those held by the Catholics in the West with regard to martyrdom. While in the East Clement and Origen laid more stress on the purifying aspect and the propitiatory sacrifice of martyrdom<sup>2</sup>), the West, not having that same unwavering faith in man's liberty and his capacity for development, was more inclined to rigorous views as expounded by Hippolytus in Rome and Tertullian in Africa, even during his Catholic period<sup>3</sup>).

In Tertullian the will and honour of God occupy the foremost place<sup>4</sup>). Since at baptism<sup>5</sup>) the Christian takes an oath of allegiance to God, who claims everything for His own glory and strictly forbids all idolatry, he must accept the consequences of his oath, and if this should mean death by torture, he must accept it as a clear expression of God's will<sup>6</sup>); martyrdom is a serious obligation imposed upon the Christian by God. Moreover it is God Who sustains and strengthens the martyr who is weak and fearful, and cannot do anything of himself<sup>7</sup>). And therefore all honour redounds to God.

1) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 115.

2) E. E. MALONE, *The monk and the martyr*, 16ff.; v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 94-95.

3) *Ad Martyras* dates from his Catholic, *Scorpisce* and *De Fuga* from his Montanistic period, v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 117.

4) D'ALÈS, *La Théologie de Tertullien*, p. 430ff., v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee...*, 118: this is at the same time directed against the Gnostics.

5) E. E. MALONE, *Martyrdom and monastic profession*, Vom Christl. Mysterium, p. 115, *sacramentum militiae christi*.

6) Scorp. 4,4-5 (C Chr. II, 1076, 9-18): *Praescribitur mihi, ne quem alium deum... adorem aut quomodo venerer praeter unicum illum, qui ita mandat, quem et iubeor timere, ne ab eo deserar, et de omni substantia diligere, ut pro eo moriar. Huic sacramento militans, ab hostibus provocor. Par sum illis, nisi illis manus dederō. Hoc defendendo depugno in acie, vulneror, concidor, occidō. Quis hunc militi suo exitum voluit, nisi qui tali sacramento eum consignavit?*

7) Without the Holy Spirit he could do nothing, cf. *mart* 1,3 (C Chr. I, 3,14-16), *fug* 3,2 (C Chr. II, 1139,21-25), *fug* 10,3 (C Chr. II, 1148,25-29), *Pass. Felicis* 1,4.

Though not entirely ignored, the witnessing aspect of martyrdom is no longer regarded as the most important element of it. *Semen est sanguis Christianorum* was said by Tertullian not as theologian, but as apologist<sup>1</sup>). To his mind the meaning of martyrdom is chiefly a trial which God sends us to test and purify us<sup>2</sup>). Without any profound theological or scriptural grounds Tertullian bases martyrdom upon the positive Will of God, the existence of which he tries to prove by citing stray quotations from the Scriptures, e.g. 'he is not worthy of me that does not take up his cross and follow me'<sup>3</sup>), and especially from texts prohibiting idolatry<sup>4</sup>). In concrete cases, too, he lays down norms based on such biblical texts as speak of flying from persecutors<sup>5</sup>). Not the Bible, but his own predisposition to rigorism is the principal source from which his views spring<sup>6</sup>).

At the same time Tertullian is practical man enough to provide a counterpoise to his view that martyrdom should derive from a positive law of God. He therefore directs the attention to the life hereafter: the martyr awaits an everlasting reward, it is a *negotatio*, a good exchange of a worthless life for the bliss of Heaven<sup>7</sup>). His reward will be greater than that of an ordinary Christian, for the martyr, being completely purified, will enter Heaven immediately, and seated with Christ on the judgement-seat will judge the rest of mankind at the last Judgement<sup>8</sup>). On those grounds Tertullian can justify, within certain limits<sup>9</sup>), the cult of the martyrs.

To sum up, we may characterize Tertullian's views as biblical-nomistic. The enthusiasm with which he extols martyrdom does not compensate for his cold rigorism<sup>10</sup>). And although *martyrium* remains primarily a serious obligation and a trial which God

1) *Apol.* 50,13 (C.Ch. I, 171,60); cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee* ..., 149.

2) *Fug.* 1-4 (C.Ch. II, 1135-1141), *scorp.* 5 (C.Ch. II, 1076-1079).

3) *Matth.* 10,38, cf. *scorp.* 11,1 (C.Ch. II, 1090,5-10), *Et qui non accipit crucem suam et sequitur me, non est me dignus.* *fug.* 7,2 (C.Ch. II, 1145,29-32).

4) *Scorp.* 2 (C.Ch. II, 1071-1074), *scorp.* 4,1 (C.Ch. II, 1076,20), *prohibendo idololatriam. Aliter enim, martyria non evenirent, idol.* 20 (C.Ch. II, 1120-1121).

5) *Fug.* 7 (C.Ch. II, 1144-1145). *Matth.* 10,32, 5,11, 10,22.

6) Cf. D'ALÈS, *La Théologie de Tertullien*, 253-254.

7) *Mart.* 2,6 (C.Ch. I, 4,18-19), *negotatio est aliquid amittere, ut maiora lucraris; scorp.* 6,4 (C.Ch. II, 1079,23), cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee* ..., 124.

8) *Scorp.* 12,8-9 (C.Ch. II, 1093,15ff), *resurr.* 43,4 (C.Ch. II, 978,11-14); F. DOLGER, *Tert. über die Bluttaufe*, AC 2 (1930), p. 117ff.

9) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee* ..., 127ff.

10) *Scorp.* 2,1 (C.Ch. II, 1071,3-4), *Sed nondum de bono martyris, nisi de debito primum, nec ante de utilitate eius, quam de necessitate descendum.*



imposes upon man for His own glory, his view of *martyrium* derives an entirely new aspect from his rhetorical digressions on the *praemium* and the special *gloria*, which await the martyr.

Considered in this light the fervent desire of many Christians to die a martyr's death and their often provocative attitude become quite intelligible; they form a sharp contrast to the Christian community of Jerusalem which dispersed at the first outbreak of the persecutions and was scattered in all directions<sup>1)</sup>. This enthusiasm for martyrdom makes it clear to us how it had come to be regarded as the highest ideal of perfection.

**Conclusions.** If we now compare Tertullian's statements on the *gloria martyrum* with the Scriptural idea of *martyrium*, they strike us as being difficult to reconcile. For the Scriptures do not consider *martyrium* to be a special dignity, nor do they make a clear distinction between the reward granted to the martyr and that given to other Christians. Indeed Holy Scripture speaks of a *gloria* which will be the reward of the just, and which will consist primarily in a glorification of the body in Heaven, but there is no mention of a specific *gloria martyrum*.

This idea of *gloria martyrum*, taken in the sense of 'renown of the martyrs', fairly fits in with the views and doctrine of Tertullian and his contemporaries with regard to *martyrium*. Particularly where he eulogizes martyrdom, he emphasizes its special achievement which raises the martyr above his fellow-Christians; it is a distinction, a privilege and a prerogative<sup>2)</sup>. Also the reward of the martyr is greater than that of other Christians, as we have already mentioned, the martyrs form a separate class, they enter Heaven immediately after death and are granted the highly honourable task of being enthroned as judges with Christ. All this entitles the martyr to special renown. This ideal of glory is an entirely new one which departs completely from the old pagan idea of it. For it is a renown which has no value in the eyes of the heathen — therefore not in the eyes of the majority of mankind — but only in the eyes of God, whose valuation being eternal and unchangeable renders the glory of the martyr also eternal. But here on earth, too, his glory lives on in the Church, which celebrates his death and proclaims his glory.

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1) H. DELEHAYE, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*, Bruxelles 1933, p. 6.

2) *Adv. Valent.* 4,1 (C.Ch. II, 755,1); *ressurr.* 43,4 (C.Ch. II, 978,11).

When speaking of the reward of the martyr, Tertullian often refers to it as *gloria*, *laus*, *fama* apparently in the sense of renown, but on the other hand, he also uses the terms *praemium*, *praeda*, *merces* for it, which indicate the spiritual and physical joys of Heaven<sup>1</sup>). In this connexion it is very instructive to read the passage in his *Apologeticum* where he interprets *gloria* and *praeda* as *gloria placendi Deo* beside *praeda vivendi in aeternum*<sup>2</sup>).

Furthermore, some texts enable us to define more precisely the character of the achievement and the glory of the martyr, especially those passages in which he compares the *gloria martyrum* with the fame of the athletes and the soldiers. It is safe to assume that those comparisons are purely a mode of literary phraseology, and that *gloria* was not taken from Roman military slang but from the common speech of the people<sup>3</sup>); if, however, the origin and meanings of the word *gloria* did not include the various ideas about martyrdom as they are used in those comparisons, Tertullian would not have kept so consistently to those parallels. Besides, not only in those comparisons but in other instances too, the idea of martyrdom is associated with combat and victory. The achievement of the martyr in his struggle with the *adversarius* and his victorious death by violence add the final triumph to the *militia christiana*; his glory, therefore, is the glory of his victory: *illorum etenim victoriae, quorum et pugnae, eorum verum pugnae quorum et sanguis*<sup>4</sup>). St. Cyprian expatiates on this subject at great length in his letters.

What has been said thus far about the usage of the word *gloria* will be brought into greater relief, when subsequently we shall find that the biblical idea of *δόξα* was certainly not common to third century Christendom.

We may conclude, therefore, that in the second century the Christians transposed the old ideal of glory into the Christian world of ideas. In the process the word *gloria* was retained, but thenceforth conveyed a notion which, though not entirely Scriptural, was Christian, and signified the renown acquired by the martyr in the eyes of his fellow-Christians and especially in the eyes of God through his victory over the Evil One. It was possible for

1) *Mart.* 2,6 (C.Ch. I, 4,20); 4,9 (C.Ch. I, 7,21); *apol.* 50,2 (C.Ch. I, 169,10).

2) *Apol.* 50,2 (C.Ch. I, 169,10).

3) ST. TEEUWEN, *Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian*, p. 100ff.: on military terminology.

4) *Scorp.* 12,9 (C.Ch. II, 1093,23-24).

them to use the word *gloria* as it had come to convey a vague general idea and had lost its old Roman note of distinction. Together with the word, however, the Christians borrowed some of its Roman characteristics, especially in literary-rhetorical contexts, so e.g. in its association with victory, the idea that *gloria* (and *virtus*) is characteristic of a man, particularly of a *vir magnus*, who distinguished himself by accomplishing the highest achievements. And this, incidentally, is the reason why it was a matter of surprise for the Fathers of the Church when a woman acquired *gloria*. The influence of the Roman military fame is very pronounced, because the idea of the *gloria martyrum* is clearly connected with the so-called 'militia-complex'. St. Cyprian supplies the material for us to determine more precisely the position of *gloria* in the *militia christiana*.

## 2. ST. CYPRIAN.

**Gloria apud Deum.** St. Cyprian's point of departure is the same as Tertullian's: the rejection of the profane glory of the gladiator, the soldier and the official, because such glory is dependent upon the estimation of men. Starting from the rigid distinction between *gloria caelestis* and *gloria saecularis*, he preaches the truly Christian renown, which is dependent upon the judgement of one's own conscience and of God in particular, and to which the martyr is singularly entitled. It is true to say of a Christian that *quidquid apud ceteros in rebus humanis sublime ac magnum videtur, intra suam iacere conscientiam gloriatur*<sup>1</sup>). And in the final resort Christian glory reaches back to the judgement of God: *nec minor est martyrii gloria non publice et inter multos perisse, cum pereundi causa sit propter Christum perire. Sufficit ad testimonium martyrii sui testis ille, qui probat martyras et coronat*<sup>2</sup>).

True glory is due to Christians who distinguish themselves. They are the champions who will be crowned by God, they are Christ's soldiers who under His command gain victory after victory and reap immortal glory.

All St. Cyprian's letters, and in some of them almost every sentence, make it clear that to his mind the connexion between *gloria* and the 'militia-and-victoria complex' was a very close one.

1) *Ad Donat.* 14 (CSEL 3,1, p. 15,1).

2) *Epist.* 58,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 660,1-5).

It may safely be said that in the comparisons he draws *gloria* is the dominant idea. We shall, therefore, first inquire into St. Cyprian's views with regard to martyrdom and Christian victory.

**St. Cyprian's idea of martyrdom.** For our purpose it is not necessary to enter into detail upon the discussion about the exact import of the term *martyr*<sup>1)</sup>, because St. Cyprian uses the terms *gloria* and *gloriosus* of confessors as well as of martyrs<sup>2)</sup>, both dead and alive. The full measure of glory, however, is only accorded to those who have reached the *consummatio martyrii*, which was the actual violent death of the martyr<sup>3)</sup>: here again the essential notion of martyr lies not so much in the witness he bears, but in his actual death, or at least in his readiness to lay down his life<sup>4)</sup>.

Yet there are some instances where by *martyrium* St. Cyprian really means *testimonium*<sup>5)</sup>. Although the signification of witnessing was taken over by the word *confessio*, *martyrium* had not yet lost this aspect of it altogether. This testimony, however, expressed by St. Cyprian as *confessio* and sometimes as *martyrium*, is not so much a continuation of Christ's message, but rather a combat in which the confessor through the moral courage displayed in his confession overcomes the pagan judge and in the judge the Evil One; for his confessor St. Cyprian does not demand an audience to listen to his testimony, but adversaries to combat<sup>6)</sup>. This stands out very clearly in the text quoted above, in which St. Cyprian answers the question whether it would not be better to die a martyr's death amidst thousands of spectators than in solitude: *Sufficit ad testimonium martyrii sui testis ille qui probat martyras*

1) E. L. HUMMEL, *The concept of martyrdom according to St. Cyprian*, p. 20ff.; H. JANSSEN, *Kultur und Sprache*, p. 165ff.; J. ERNST, *Der Begriff vom Martyrium bei Cyprian*, *Histor. Jahrbuch. des Görresgesellsch.*, München 34 (1913), p. 328-353.

2) 'Martyrs' and 'confessors' in the modern sense of the word.

3) *Epist.* 12,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 503,11-13), *Cum voluntati et confessioni nostrae in carcere et vinculis accedit et moriendi terminus, consummata martyrii gloria est; uniu. eccl.* 21 (CSEL 3,1, p. 228,15), *Confessio exordium gloriae est, non meritum iam coronae*; cf. *epist.* 61,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 698,3).

4) HUMMEL 33; ERNST 342; H. JANSSEN 168; v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee ...*, 138.

5) *Epist.* 38,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 580,22); 37,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 579,7); 58,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 660,4).

6) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee ...*, 152ff.; compare the semantic development of *martyr* and *confessor*; H. JANSSEN 157 and 184; HUMMEL 5. — *epist.* 38,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 580,10-12), *Meruit (Aurelius) in foro congregi clariore virtute, ut post magistratus et proconsulem vinceret*; *epist.* 55,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 625, 22): the voice of a confessor is called a *classicum*.

*et coronat*<sup>1)</sup>. In this casual word-play St. Cyprian voices the contemporary view that the martyr has no need to direct his testimony to the world, but rather needs God and, if possible, many spectators to be eye-witnesses to his glorious death; here we see the meaning of the Evangelical testimony completely reversed.

To St. Cyprian, therefore, the primary meaning of *martyrium* is not a collective duty imposed upon Christendom, which in course of time meets with persecution but despite that addresses its testimony of Christ to the world and, if needs be, confirms it by blood, which testimony entails at the same time judgement for the world. This apocalyptic conception of *martyrium* escaped St. Cyprian's notice. The general line of his thought was entirely dependent upon Tertullian, and as a theologian he was far inferior to him<sup>2)</sup>. He was deeply versed in the Bible and is so extravagant in citing texts from the Scriptures that it would be possible to follow his line of argument from those quotations alone<sup>3)</sup>. Yet he had no profound understanding of the Scriptures; in his exegesis he is superficial and keeps scrupulously to the letter of the text and fails to notice the inter-relation between the various texts. His writings show accordingly little or no influence of any Pauline or Johannine theology<sup>4)</sup>.

St. Cyprian represented *martyrium* not as an Evangelical testimony but as an act of obedience to a positive command of God, which comes to us in many Scriptural texts<sup>5)</sup>; it is the august and all-powerful Will of God which imposes martyrdom on man as a trial or a punishment, but at the same time as an election and a distinction which raise him above the ordinary Christian<sup>6)</sup>.

In broad outline this interpretation agrees with Tertullian's view

1) *Epist.* 58,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 660,2-5).

2) P. DE LABRIOLLE, *Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne, revue par G. BARDY*, Paris 1949, I, p. 198.

3) v. SODEN 11: the literal quotations from the Bible by St. Cyprian cover 1/8 of the New Testament.

4) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee ...*, 133.

5) *Epist.* 6,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 481,4-6), *Fort. Praef.* 4 (CSEL 3,1, p. 318,3), *Praecepta ipsa divina velut arma pugnantis suggerenda sunt. Illa sint militaris tubae hortamenta, illa pugnantis classica. Inde aures erigantur, inde instruantur mentes, inde animi et corporis vires ad omnem passionis tolerantiam roborentur.* — Biblical texts, especially against idolatry, are found in *Fort.* 1-5 (CSEL 3,1, p. 321-327), *laps.* 7 (CSEL 3,1, p. 241-242) and *epist.* 59,12 (CSEL 3,2, p. 680,1-6), cf. v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee ...*, 131.

6) *Epist.* 11,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 500,4-6), *Persecutio ista examinatio est adque exploratio peccati nostri. Excusi nos Deus voluit et probari, sicut suos semper probavit*; cf. Tert. *fug.* 1,3 (C.Christ. II, 1135,26).

of martyrdom. There is, however, an important difference of emphasis, for while Tertullian lays full stress on the inexorable Will of God, and only of necessity and as a concession to human aspirations deals with the *gloria martyrum*, St. Cyprian does everything in his power to show the Kindness of God's Will, and makes the *gloria martyrum* a central point of interest.

This attitude is accounted for by St. Cyprian's own personality and by contemporary conditions. St. Cyprian's wise moderation <sup>1)</sup> distinguishes him in all practical affairs from Tertullian. Tertullian did not know how to adapt his own rigorous convictions to legitimate human sentiments and considerations. St. Cyprian, on the other hand, understood man's innate desire for happiness, the stimulating need of reward and his sense of greatness. Especially in Antiquity people could not think of any ideal of life without the glimmer of glory. Nor should we forget the contemporary conditions of St. Cyprian's age: the large-scale persecution under Decius, raging in all its fury and intensity, aimed at the total extermination of Christianity <sup>2)</sup>. It was a minority without rights, despised and cruelly persecuted. To stand firm against this persecution the average Christian needed the encouraging prospect of a great and a glorious reward; he needed a lofty ideal surpassing all the old examples of glory. Such was the frame of mind in which the idea of martyrdom as a victory over satan and paganism was conceived. Seen in this light it is easy to see why St. Cyprian represented martyrdom as a grand privilege and as the surest opportunity to win Heaven as a reward.

In his reflections on this aspect of martyrdom we may distinguish three essential points with which we shall deal separately, viz. the martyr as one elected by God; his combat and victory; and finally his glory on earth and in Heaven.

**Martyrdom as an election and a privilege.** Only those whom God deems worthy are elected to fight this combat for Him and to become martyrs; this combat is fought before the eyes of God and renders man most similar to Christ <sup>3)</sup>.

Considered in this way, martyrdom is a great honour and a privilege which God alone can grant us. We should not seek a

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<sup>1)</sup> DE LABRIOLLE-BARDY, I, 197.

<sup>2)</sup> FLICHE-MARTIN, II, p. 145; J. DE JONG, *Kerkgesch.* I, p. 74.

<sup>3)</sup> *Eleem.* 21 (CSEL 3,1, p. 389,20); *patient.* 5 (CSEL 3,1, p. 401,2).

martyr's death ourselves<sup>1)</sup>, we may only pray that God may grant us that favour. St. Cyprian himself prays that the confessors may attain martyrdom, and begs them to implore God to grant it to him also<sup>2)</sup>.

The martyr is the victorious 'miles Christi'. From what has been said above it follows that *martyrium*, as conceived by St. Cyprian, is primarily something personal, it is a vocation, a distinction, a dignity acquired by personal combat and attained by death. Those ideas lent themselves well for comparisons with the contest of a gladiator in the 'agon', or with a soldier who distinguishes himself in battle<sup>3)</sup>. Accordingly, St. Cyprian elaborates those metaphors in detail in his rhetorical and highly florid style. He employs the whole military terminology, but in describing the martyrs as soldiers<sup>4)</sup>, he emphasizes repeatedly the spiritual character of their combat by using such terms as *milites spiritales*<sup>5)</sup>. Baptism is referred to as the military oath, the *sacramentum militiae*<sup>6)</sup>; the Church is the camp, the *castra*<sup>7)</sup>; and Christ is the *Imperator*, the *Dux* or *Protector*<sup>8)</sup>. Armour, too, is used for detailed metaphors<sup>9)</sup>. And thus martyrdom becomes a *caeleste certamen Dei et spiritale proelium Christi*, or sometimes a *congressio* or *acies*<sup>10)</sup>. Those military metaphors form the background of the idea of the Christian victory, for in this contest *gloria* and *corona* are at stake. By his open confession the martyr faces and defies the Evil One in the person of the pagan judge, and the devil is morally defeated by the martyr's death<sup>11)</sup>. The martyrs are crowned with wreaths by God and received as triumphant victors in Heaven. When after the Decian persecution many Christians were discharged from prison, St. Cyprian describes their home coming as the triumphant entry of the glorious Roman

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1) *Mort.* 17 (CSEL. 3,1, p. 307,22ff.), *non est in tua potestate sed in Dei dignatione martyrium*.

2) *Fort. Praef.* 4 (CSEL 3,1, p. 319,10-13).

3) A similar metaphor is already found in Tertullian, and even in St. Paul.

4) *Epist.* 57,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 656,3); 10,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 490,9); 10,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 492,8); 58,16 (CSEL 3,2, p. 606,14-16).

5) *Epist.* 39,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 583,8); 58,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 658,27).

6) *Demetr.* 26 (CSEL 3,1, p. 370, 18-21); *laps.* 7 (CSEL 3,1, p. 241,21).

7) *Epist.* 10,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 490, 13-18).

8) *Epist.* 6,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 480,17); 10,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 492,5).

9) *Epist.* 58,9 (CSEL 3,2, p. 664,18-23).

10) *Epist.* 10,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 491,10-13).

11) *Fort.* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 346,16).

armies into the city of Rome<sup>1</sup>); the *tropaea* are brought to the Church from where the martyrs went forth into battle<sup>2</sup>).

When St. Cyprian speaks of martyrdom or persecution in general, he prefers the metaphor of a battle between two armies, but when he is concerned with the personal struggle of an individual martyr, he prefers to borrow his imagery from a running-match or a wrestling-contest<sup>3</sup>), as St. Paul had done before him<sup>4</sup>), or from the combat of gladiators<sup>5</sup>). Gladiators must prepare themselves by hard and strenuous training<sup>6</sup>). Christ is the *iudex* — the umpire —, who crowns the glorious champion with the wreath of victory<sup>7</sup>). For the martyrs fight, like the gladiators in the arena, to win glory and honour; they despise worldly glory, but strive after heavenly glory, which is divine and eternal<sup>8</sup>). And therefore the *corona* and the *palma* are the emblems of the martyrs<sup>9</sup>); they became the tokens of their victory, symbolizing their imperishable glory and eternal reward, *corona confessionis, vitae aeternae, fidei, purpurea, gloriosa, agonistica*<sup>10</sup>).

Side by side with those metaphors St. Cyprian also uses other terms such as dignity which implies a comparison with the position of a high government Official<sup>11</sup>).

In all those comparisons *gloria* is the main point, or at least one of the main points, of resemblance. Frequently St. Cyprian lays more emphasis on the attractiveness of victory and glory than on the hardships of the struggle. That is why *gloria* occupies such a central place in those comparisons; whatever is connected with confession and martyrdom is given the epithet of *gloriosus, gloriosa confessio, gloriosum os, gloriosa mors etc.*<sup>12</sup>).

To HUMMEL's statement that 'the victorious general and the successful athlete embodied the ancient ideal of courage and

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1) *Laps.* 2 (CSEL 3,1, p. 237,14ff.).

2) *Epist.* 54,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 621,13-14), *illuc enim erant de acie tropaea referenda unde ad aciem fuerant arma suscepta.*

3) HUMMEL 81ff.

4) I *Cor.* 9.24-25; II *Tim.* 4.7-8; cf. *Cypr. epist.* 58,8 (CSEL 3,2, p. 663,13ff.).

5) *Epist.* 39,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 582,9-23).

6) *Epist.* 58,8 (CSEL 3,2, p. 663,13-15).

7) *Epist.* 58,8 (CSEL 3,2, p. 663,20-21).

8) *Epist.* 28,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 547,3), *laudes et glorias spirituales.*

9) H. JANSSEN 191-196.

10) HUMMEL 89.

11) *Epist.* 37,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 577,5-9). Often St. Cyprian refers to *martyrium* as a *dignitas*, for instance *epist.* 54,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 622,12).

12) *Epist.* 52,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 618,5); 55,10 (CSEL 3,2, p. 631,10); 39,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 582,23); 12,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 503,20).



valour' <sup>1)</sup>), it should be added that the Christians laid the emphasis on 'victorious' and 'successful'. To them the soldier and the gladiator were only representative of the *virtus* and *fortitudo* of the martyrs, in so far their glory and laurels symbolized the highly coveted and admired ideal of the *gloria martyrum* <sup>2)</sup>).

**The glory of the martyr in the Church.** Already on earth the glory of the martyr begins: he is the example and model for all other Christians, and therefore the object of special care and veneration <sup>3)</sup>). Even if he failed to attain the *consummatio martyrii* through being released from prison, he still occupies a special and honourable place in the Church along with the confessors. St. Cyprian seeing them return triumphantly from prison says: *Confessores praeconio boni nominis claros et virtutis ac fidei laudibus gloriosos laetis conspectibus intuemur* <sup>4)</sup>).

If one dies a martyr, it is his good fortune, but if he is released from prison and escapes with life, there is also reason for joy: *Ergo utraque res... sublimis pariter et inlustris: illa securior ad Dominum victoriae consummatione properare, haec laetior accepto post gloriam commeatu in ecclesiae laude florere* <sup>5)</sup>).

As a brave general is the glory of his army and a clever statesman is the glory of his country, so the martyr is the glory of his community, especially if he be a priest or a bishop: *Nuntiandum vobis fuit... quod pertineret, ...ad ecclesiae nostrae maximam gloriam*. After those opening words St. Cyprian says the martyr Numidius has been received into the clerical community of Carthage <sup>6)</sup>).

Also the fact that the title of *Dominus* was conferred upon martyrs who were still alive, points to their honourable position. HUMMEL <sup>7)</sup> and JANSSEN <sup>8)</sup> are both of opinion that this term, when applied to confessors and martyrs, implied a special dignity and significance.

Special efficacy was attributed to the prayers of the martyrs,

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1) HUMMEL 90.

2) In St. Cyprian's letters it occurs in every page.

3) *Epist.* 5,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 478,16ff.); 8,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 487,21ff.).

4) *Laps.* 2 (CSEL 3,1, p. 237,14-15).

5) *Epist.* 10,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 494,22).

6) *Epist.* 40 (CSEL 3,2, p. 585,11ff.).

7) HUMMEL 155: 'it seems that the term, as applied to martyrs and confessors, implied a special dignity and significance'.

8) H. JANSSEN 198.

even before their deaths, notably to their intercession on behalf of apostates<sup>1</sup>). In Carthage and many other places this led to abuses, e.g. *libelli pacis* were often given to apostates without discrimination. St. Cyprian maintained a grim struggle against this malpractice: he denied that those confessors possessed priestly power, he adjured them not to pollute their glory and not to frustrate their *laudabile testimonium* through failing in discipline<sup>2</sup>). Nevertheless, the martyrs played an important part in reconciling apostates: this practice seems to be based especially on the conviction that the martyrs were to be co-judges at the last Judgement<sup>3</sup>). As martyrs and confessors, therefore, they occupied a privileged place in the community<sup>4</sup>).

After their deaths also their glory lived on in the Church. St. Cyprian takes care of their corpses and celebrates their anniversaries in full confidence of their intercession with God<sup>5</sup>).

**The glory of the martyr in Heaven.** The glory of the martyr in Heaven will also be greater than that of the ordinary Christian. First of all, he enters Heaven directly after his death, where as the other Christians have to wait till the resurrection of the body<sup>6</sup>). As in the minds of the Christians martyrdom included an act of perfect love, which effected total remission of all sin and guilt, it was sometimes called the *aliud baptisma*, the baptism of blood<sup>7</sup>). And so St. Cyprian says repeatedly that the martyr after his death is immediately crowned with wreaths<sup>8</sup>). He therefore applies to the martyr such terms as *gloriosa mors*, not only because his death signified victory over the persecutors, but also because it was the beginning of his eternal glory<sup>9</sup>). As regards the nature of this eternal glory of the martyr in Heaven it is noteworthy that St. Cyprian, when speaking of the implication of the *gloria caelestis*, does not often mention the phenomena of light or splendour, but

1) *Epist* 37,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 578,23-579,4), *laps* 36 (CSEL 3,1, p. 263)

2) Cf. *epist* 14,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 511,2), 28,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 580,20ff), 57,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 653,13), 73,21 (CSEL 3,2, p. 794,20)

3) HUMMEL 161.

4) *Epist* 38 and 39, concerning Aurelianus and Celerinus respectively.

5) *Epist* 8,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 488,4-5), 12,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 503,14ff), 39,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 583,12)

6) *Fort* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 347,6-10)

7) *Epist* 37,22 (CSEL 3,2, p. 796,1-3), *Fort* 4 (CSEL 3,1, p. 319,3-13)

8) HUMMEL 125ff, *Fort* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 347,6-10), *Fort* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 346, 12 and 19), *epist* 6,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 480,20-481,1)

9) *Epist* 12,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 503,20)

lays particular emphasis on the honour and dignity acquired by the martyr in Heaven: *Quae erit gloria et quanta laetitia admitti ut Deum videas, honorari ut cum Christo Domino tuo, salutis ac lucis aeternae gaudium capias, Abraham et Isaac et Iacob et patriarchas omnes et apostolos et prophetas et martyras salutare, cum iustis et Dei amicis (!) in regno caelorum datae immortalitatis voluptate gaudere*<sup>1</sup>). So he mentions *lux aeterna* and *immortalitas*, but the main stress is on the exalted company into which he is received, the *amici Dei* (a parallel to the *Amici Imperatoris*)<sup>2</sup>). He even seems to interpret the word *claritas* in that sense when immediately upon the above text he continues in the words of St. Paul, *Non sunt condignae passionibus... ad superventuram claritatem*<sup>3</sup>). The same is evident from this text: *Quis ergo non omnibus modis elaboret ad claritatem tantam pervenire, ut amicus Dei fiat, ut cum Christo statim gaudeat, ut post tormenta et supplicia terrena praemia divina percipiat? Si militibus saecularibus gloriosum est ut hoste devicto redeant in patriam triumphantes, quanto potior et maior est gloria devicto diabolo ad paradisum triumphantem redire*<sup>4</sup>). In Heaven, therefore, the martyr is welcomed as a triumpher, he is admitted to the honour of God's friendship, he is made the *amicus Dei*. And the word *claritas* in the text is more suggestive of a representation of the *patres clarissimi* than of a vision of celestial light.

The special privilege of the martyr which completes his glory, marks his exalted position in Heaven, and consists in being co-judge with Christ at the last Judgement, is therefore in perfect keeping with this representation<sup>5</sup>). It is this privilege that confers upon him special glory and dignity.

In St. Cyprian *gloria martyrum* not merely denotes the splendour and magnificence of the Christian who attains Heaven, but primarily signifies the special renown of the Christian hero who has distinguished himself from his fellow-Christians. St. Cyprian's idea of martyrdom, and above all his comparisons with military and 'agonistic' fame all argue in this direction, even if

1) *Epist.* 58,10 (CSEL 3,2, p. 665,10ff.).

2) Cf. *Aug. conf.* 8,6,15.

3) *Paul. Rom.* 8,18.

4) *Fort.* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 346,12-16).

5) *Epist.* 6,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 481,13-21). Compare *Tert. mart.* 2,4 (C.Chr. I, 4,14): *Vos estis de iudicibus ipsis iudicaturi.*

his military terminology be accepted as purely metaphorical. Finally, this usage of *gloria* is not new; Tertullian, too, as we remarked before, used it in that sense, though less frequently. We may even go so far as to assume that it belonged to the general vocabulary of Christian Latin in Africa. From the problems St. Cyprian had to deal with it is sufficiently clear that the views held by the Christians were very much the same as those of St. Cyprian himself; it is true that at times the African Christians would go to extremes, and many of them adopted a provocative attitude during the persecutions, because they attached an exaggerated value to physical death and the fame associated with it; and many confessors used their martyr's glory as a title for escaping from Church discipline<sup>1</sup>). Those tendencies justify the conclusion that the African Christians in general strongly emphasized the renown of the martyrs. The same may be said of the Christians in Rome where the same problems caused similar confusion; certain practices in the veneration of the martyrs also point to it, e.g. the practice of hero-worship to which St. Cyprian largely contributed. One even gains the impression that St. Cyprian adapted himself as much as possible to popular views and practices (he also furthered the cult of the martyrs), whereas Tertullian, prompted by his rigorism and his theological ideas, opposed those views and being averse to hero-worship restricted the veneration of the martyrs.

When dealing with Tertullian's ideas of the *gloria martyrum*, we already remarked that *gloria*, as he conceived it, was a continuation and transposition of the pagan idea of glory into a Christian sphere of ideas. This was not a laborious process for, as we have seen, *gloria* had already lost its classical significance in the second century A.D. and acquired a wider and less defined meaning denoting a more or less favourable repute; it could be predicated of people, even of things. Thus the word *gloria* could without difficulty be used in a new Christian sense. Moreover the Christian writers adopted the distinction between true and false glory, contrasting the *vera gloria* in its Christian acceptation with the *falsa gloria* of the world. Further, the word *gloria* as such was reminiscent of the military-political ideal of glory in ancient Rome. This latter aspect of it especially is strongly emphasized by St. Cyprian; he restores to the Christian idea of glory the classical

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1) *Epist.* 15,16 and 17 (CSEL 3,2, p. 517ff.).

Roman-military meaning of it, in that he defines it as the reward of virtue and fortitude: this confers indeed a new dignity, he says, but offers no excuse for withdrawing from discipline, it enhances at the same time the reputation of the community to which the hero belongs. And so in this minor, though not insignificant, detail we see the assertion confirmed that St. Cyprian's Christian Latin comes nearer to classical Latin <sup>1</sup>).

There are some texts in St. Cyprian, in which *gloria* seems to mean more than merely Christian renown, its signification seems to be wider and more comprehensive; for in those texts *gloria* often serves as a variation of *vita aeterna*, *immortalitas*, *praemium* <sup>2</sup>) (sometimes this is probably due only to St. Cyprian's fondness of introducing variations in his choice of words). At times *gloria* is used as the opposite not only of *ignominia*, but even of *poena* <sup>3</sup>). In those cases *gloria* seems to have the general meaning of heavenly reward. It signifies complete heavenly bliss, as implied by the eternal renown of the martyr, even though only the aspect of renown is explicitly mentioned. Very rarely does *gloria* indicate, and even then very faintly, material splendour and corporal glorification of the blessed in Heaven, or other suchlike phenomena of light.

### 3. OTHER SOURCES BEFORE 300 A.D.

Neither the *Acta Martyrum Scillitanorum* nor the *Acta Proconsularia Cypriani* furnish any data for our inquiry; they contain only brief and matter-of-fact reports, and are too sober for such a subject as *gloria*, which finds more scope in rhetorical and emphatic language.

In the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, however, we meet again with the concept of *gloria martyrum*, both in the parts ascribed to Tertullian and in the others. Here, too, we notice the same idea of martyrdom, again conceived as an 'agon', a wrestling-contest of the martyr with the Evil One (here the *Aegyptius*) and spectators looking on etc. <sup>4</sup>). Describing her vision of the victory Perpetua

1) SCHRIJNEN-MOHRMANN, *Syntax der Briefe des hl. Cypr.*, I, p. 2.

2) *Epist.* 58,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 656,20), *gloriam vitae aeternae*; *unit. eccl.* 21 (CSEL 3,1, p. 229,21).

3) *Gloria-ignominia*, *epist.* 59,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 667,27); *gloria-venia*, *epist.* 55,20 (CSEL 3,2, p. 638,17); *gloria-poena*, *orat.* 26 (CSEL 3,1, p. 286,16) and *zel.* 7 (CSEL 3,1, p. 423,21); *gloria-ruina*, *patient.* 19 (CSEL 3,1, p. 411,16).

4) *Pass. Perp.* 10,2.

says (after the victory): *et coepi ire cum gloria ad portam sanavivariam*<sup>1)</sup>.

*Etsi indigni*, the author goes on, *ad supplementum tantae gloriae describendae*<sup>2)</sup>, and then adduces as a motive why Perpetua put up her hair before her *martyrium*: *non enim decebat martyram sparsis capillis pati, ne in sua gloria plangere videretur*<sup>3)</sup>.

In the *Passio Cypriani* we may freely expect to find St. Cyprian's influence, as, indeed, we do; we meet again St. Cyprian's metaphors, the *martyrium* is a *spectaculum*<sup>4)</sup>, the wounds are referred to as the *insignia*<sup>5)</sup>, and there is also the same idea of *gloria martyrum*. The author begins with the excuse *quicquid minus dixerō... ignorantiae meae potius quam illius gloriae derogetur*<sup>6)</sup>. After describing St. Cyprian's *gloria* he remarks that St. Cyprian was not martyred at once in the Decian persecution, because *per omnes ordines gloriarum transeundum illi esset*<sup>7)</sup>. Then those *gloriae* are enumerated in order of succession: *Statim denique pro talibus meritis etiam proscriptionis gloriam consecutus est. Nec enim aliud oportebat, quam ut eum, qui intra secretam conscientiae latebram religionis et fidei toto honore florebat, etiam publice celebrata gentilium fama tituletur*<sup>8)</sup>. After that the *gloria exilii* (*non est poena quia gloria est*)<sup>9)</sup> and the *gloria* of his imprisonment, during which time he sent out his *adhortationes* from prison, from which he refused to escape<sup>10)</sup>. Finally, the *sententia gloriosa*<sup>11)</sup> is passed on him, and he dies an example to his community: *Quamvis enim non potuerit evenire quod optabant vota communia, ut consortio paris gloriae simul plebs tota pateretur*<sup>12)</sup>.

What we have examined thus far concerned only Africa. We shall now turn our attention to Rome.

In the letters whose wording is ascribed to Novatian, we observe in broad outlines the same views, the same metaphors and the

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1) *Ib.* 10,13.

2) *Ib.* 16,1.

3) *Ib.* 20,5; cf. *ib.* 19,2.

4) *Pass. Cypr.* 15 (CSEL 3,3, p. CVII,1).

5) *Ib.* 19 (CSEL 3,3, p. CIX,27).

6) *Ib.* 2 (CSEL 3,3, p. XCII,3).

7) *Ib.* 7 (CSEL 3,3, p. XCVII,8).

8) *Ib.* 7 (CSEL 3,3, p. XCVII,2).

9) *Ib.* 11 (CSEL 3,3, p. CII,2).

10) *Ib.* 14 (CSEL 3,3, p. CVI,4-9).

11) *Ib.* 17 (CSEL 3,3, p. CVIII,15).

12) *Ib.* 18 (CSEL 3,3, p. CIX,10); cf. 17 (CSEL 3,3, p. CVIII,25) and 19 (CSEL 3,3, p. CX,5).

same usage of words with regard to the *gloria martyrum*. Novatian, too, speaks of *martyrii honorem*<sup>1)</sup>, of the armour of the martyrs<sup>2)</sup>, and their training<sup>3)</sup>. This is his apology for the fact that he has not yet shed his blood, but is still alive: *Etsi nondum nostrum sanguinem fudimus, sed fudisse parati sumus, nemo hanc dilationis nostrae moram clementiam iudicet, quae nobis officit, quae impedimentum gloriae facit, quae caelum differt, quae gloriosum Dei conspectum inhibet*<sup>4)</sup>. We may assume, that here Novatian was influenced in a way by St. Cyprian, as would appear from his own words: *Ex litteris tuis vidimus gloriosos illos martyrum triumphos*<sup>5)</sup>.

In the correspondence between St. Cyprian and Pope Cornelius it is striking that St. Cyprian makes very frequent use of the word *gloria*, while Pope Cornelius does not use it at all<sup>6)</sup>. Nevertheless it is quite clear from Novatian's letters that the *gloria martyrum* belongs to the common vocabulary of both Roman and African Christians.

#### 4. ST. AMBROSE.

Consequent on the violent persecutions raging at the beginning of the fourth century and aimed at the total destruction of the Christian communities, the martyrs were extolled as Christian heroes even more than before; they were described as triumphant victors, whereas the pagan judges were depicted as the most contemptible enemies; Lactantius for instance emphasizes this contrast very sharply<sup>7)</sup>. After the peace of 313 A.D., however, a new era commenced, in which the conditions of religious life underwent an essential change: the high esteem of the martyrs manifested itself in public veneration. Besides the basilicas large numbers of martyria were erected. It was commonly believed that the martyrs interceded with God on behalf of those who invoked their help, that they protected them, and at times even showed their supernatural power in a miraculous manner, especially to those who devoutly venerated their tombs and relics. Some tombs, such as those of the Apostles Peter and Paul, St. Felix of Nola,

1) Cypr. *epist.* 30,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 552,10).

2) *Epist.* 31,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 561,10-15).

3) *Epist.* 31,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 557,18).

4) *Epist.* 31,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 561,4); cf. *epist.* 31,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 559,1).

5) *Epist.* 31,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 558,14-15).

6) Cypr. *epist.* 47-52. In the letter from the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian (*epist.* 8) there is no mention of *gloria martyrum*.

7) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee* ..., 157.

St. Cyprian and St. Hippolytus<sup>1)</sup>), became famous and were visited by numerous pilgrims from all parts of the world. Prudentius recorded their martyrdom and described the miracles wrought on their graves<sup>2)</sup>). Thus the glory of the martyr was no longer limited to his own community, but became known throughout the world; his greatness was no longer estimated solely by the courage he had shown or the tortures he had endured, but also by the numbers that visited his tomb and the miracles that occurred at his sepulchre.

We have to see St. Ambrose in the light of those practices and convictions. As a bishop it was not possible for him to adopt a neutral attitude, and, in fact, he played a very prominent part in promoting the veneration of the martyrs. 'In the very beginning of his episcopate he arranged for the translation of the body of his saintly predecessor, Dionysius, to Milan. In A.D. 386 he further enriched the city with the bones, discovered by himself, of SS Gervasius and Protasius. In A.D. 393 he 'discovered' the remains of SS Agricola and Vitalis at Bologna, and in A.D. 395 those of SS Nazarius and Celsus at Milan'<sup>3)</sup>). Although his activity may have been influenced incidentally by pressure of popular devotion, he also prohibited abuses that crept into the veneration of the martyrs, and which relegated essential Christian truths more and more to the background<sup>4)</sup>). But in general, he was an ardent promotor of the cult of the martyrs, and never doubted that they possessed miraculous powers, and 'as beholders of our lives and actions'<sup>5)</sup> both heard and helped directly those who invoked them.

Owing to this veneration martyrdom was greatly admired in those days, and the glory of martyrdom was much coveted by many Christians, even by St. Ambrose himself. By then the persecutions in their most bloody form had come to an end, though not yet completely. As a student, St. Ambrose had been through the persecution under Julian. Later he became involved in a struggle with the Arians. Especially in the struggle with Justina and Auxentius he showed no anxiety about his life, though he repudiated violence, as appears from his words to the emperor: *Rogamus,*

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1) F. V. D. MEER, *Augustinus*, p. 552-553; F. DUDDEN, *Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, I, p. 311.

2) Prudentius, *Peri Stephanon*.

3) DUDDEN I 316. *Cuius tunc tantae gloriae martyrum etiam ego testis fui*, Aug. *serm.* 286,5,4 (PL 38,1299); cf. P. COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions*, p. 143.

4) DUDDEN I 315; cf. Aug. *conf.* 6,2,2.

5) DUDDEN I 311; cf. Ambr. *vid.* 9,55 (PL 16,251 B).



*Auguste, non pugnamus; non timemus, sed rogamus*<sup>1)</sup>. In his *Sermo contra Auxentium* he described his struggle with Auxentius as a combat with the devil: *tentator ille diabolus per ministros suos certamen auget, vulneribus corporis mei experiendum arbitratur. Scio, fratres, vulnera haec, quae pro Christo excipimus, non esse vulnera, quibus vita amittitur, sed propagatur. Sinite, quaeso, esse certamen: spectatores vos esse decet*<sup>2)</sup>. In the same sermon he expressed his readiness to die a martyr's death: *Exspectabam, fateor, magnum aliquid, aut gladium pro Christi nomine, aut incendium*<sup>3)</sup>. In his words we observe his Roman and Stoic contempt of death, still, more clearly they show his Christian love of death and his complete renunciation of the world, which he held to be the essential features of martyrdom<sup>4)</sup>.

The glory of martyrdom was coveted not only by St. Ambrose himself, but also by many others. And sometimes this desire was excessive. According to St. Ambrose one should avail oneself of every opportunity of martyrdom. But *ne temere aliquis, dum martyrii desiderat gloriam, offerat se periculis, quae fortasse caro infirmior aut remissior animus ferre ac tolerare non queat*<sup>5)</sup>. Such ambitious Christians are a danger not only to themselves, but to the whole Church: *Cavendum etiam reor, ne, dum aliqui nimia gloriae ducuntur cupiditate, insolentius abutantur potestatibus et plerumque aversos a nobis animos gentilium in studia persecutionis excitent atque inflamment ad iracundiam. Itaque ut illi perseverare possint et supplicia vincere, quantos perire faciunt*<sup>6)</sup>. From those texts we may conclude that to St. Ambrose and his contemporaries martyrdom had not yet become merely a historical ideal of Christian heroism, but was still an actual reality, and as such still represented a very concrete and highly admired ideal of perfection and glory.

With regard to St. Ambrose's use of the word *gloria* in the sense of 'renown of the martyr' we have to make a reference to his conception of profane glory. In contrast to profane glory, of which he disapproves as being false and vain, or to which he imputes, at most, a relative value, he describes true glory as being

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1) *Epist.* 20,14 (PL 16,998 B).

2) *c. Aux.* 6 (PL 16,1009 A).

3) *c. Aux.* 15 (PL 16,1011 C).

4) DUDDEN II 513.

5) *Off.* 1,37,187.

6) *Off.* 1,42,208.

dependent upon the judgement of man's conscience<sup>1)</sup>. This glory is primarily accorded to the martyrs: *Nos sanguine gloriamur*<sup>2)</sup>.

The 'militia-complex'<sup>3)</sup> and particularly the meaning of victory still determine the colour and background of the *gloria martyrum*. The agonistic and military metaphors are often met with in his writings<sup>4)</sup>. In this respect he shows great similarity to St. Cyprian, even in details: e.g. *Bonae triumphalium vulnerum cicatrices, quibus victores huius terreni proelii gloriantur; quanto inlustriora vulnera, quae pro fide et nominis tui gloria videntur excepta! ... Sic coepit stola esse gloriae caro mortis*<sup>5)</sup>. Thus the martyr is represented as a victor who defeats the Evil One through his spiritual strength and also through the effect of his death as a martyr, because his *martyrium* benefits the founding and expansion of the Church: *illa enim tolerantia iniuriarum et usu periculorum domini fundatus est populus et ecclesia incrementum est consecuta, cum ceteri ad martyrium festinarent*<sup>6)</sup>. This idea (which St. Augustine is to bring out very explicitly) that the expansion and freedom of the Church are actually the success and triumph of the martyrs, is typical of the times after 313 A.D. And in this regard the victory of the martyr is not only something intrinsic to him, but assumes also an external aspect. On account of this twofold aspect of the martyr's victory, his fame will never die<sup>7)</sup>. And for this reason the angels also will receive him as a triumphant victor: *Post momentum, immo adhuc in corpore positus videt deducentium choros, angelorum gaudia — qui enim super unius peccatoris conversione laetantur, quanto magis in passione iustorum! — videt gloriam et ait: me exspectaverunt iusti, ut deducerent me, videt Dominum Iesum et ait: me exspectavit Christus, ut coronaret me*<sup>8)</sup>. After his death the martyr leaves his relics behind as a trophy: *Videte coelestis conversationis viros*, says St. Ambrose of the bodies of St. Gervasius and Protasius, *spectate animi sublimis tropaea*<sup>9)</sup>. The martyrs narrate the glory of God: *reseratis oculis*

1) *Inst. virg.* 1,2 (PL 16,305 B), *Sincerae proposito conscientiae summa est laus.*

2) *Epist.* 18,11 (PL 16,975 A).

3) The 'militia-complex' of the fourth century is not the same as that of the third century!

4) Cf. *epist.* 22,13 (PL 16,1023 B), *victimae triumphales*; off. 1,41,206; *Iac.* 2,12,56 (CSEL 32,2, p. 68,9).

5) In *psalm.* 37,55,3 (CSEL 64, p. 180,18-23).

6) In *psalm.* 43,38 (CSEL 64, p. 289,19-21); cf. *c. Aux.* 6 (PL 16,1009 AB).

7) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 4,20 (CSEL 62, p. 77,16).

8) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 12,43,3 (CSEL 62, p. 277,2).

9) *Epist.* 22,4 (PL 16,1020 C — 1021 A). Cf. J. CARCOPINO, *Etudes d'Histoire chrétienne*, p. 251ff.

*gloriam Dei speculamur quae est martyrum passione praeterita, et operatione praesens*<sup>1)</sup>. Through their supernatural and even miraculous activity and their intercession with God their glory continues to increase after their death: and the principal aim of their heavenly activity is again the protection of the Church. St. Ambrose hopes, he says, that St. Gervasius and Protasius will be on his side in his struggle with Auxentius, and grant victory to the Church over heresy and paganism: *tales ego ambio defensores, tales milites habeo*<sup>2)</sup>.

In those texts we notice that the relics of the martyrs and their exertions on behalf of the Church are spoken of in military terms and are, moreover, linked with the idea of victory. In this way the concept of *gloria martyrum* preserved its old character, but at the same time its content was considerably enriched, for thenceforth it was also associated with the expansion of the Church and with the miracles wrought at the tombs of the martyrs. Those new elements, however, have been completely assimilated through being transposed into the sphere of the *militia Christiana*<sup>3)</sup> and especially through being considered as new aspects of the total triumph of the martyrs. Hence the concept of *gloria martyrum*, far from having undergone a change, was enriched in many respects. Seeing it in this light we can but conclude that the idea of victory was very pronounced, also in the fourth century, and that the word *gloria*, as applied to the martyrs, played an increasingly important part in this complex. The martyr is throughout the symbol of victory, especially to the Church, with *fidei titulo, tropaeo martyrum, angelorum gloriatur consortio*<sup>4)</sup>.

## 5. ST. AUGUSTINE.

St. Augustine was not a promotor of the external festivities in the cult of the martyrs, as St. Ambrose was; he preferred to emphasize the essential values of martyrdom and the true significance of the martyrs in the Church<sup>5)</sup>. He forbade the gathering for meals on their graves and stressed the accidental character of their external veneration; in doing so he intended, without detracting from their greatness, to draw the attention of

1) *Epist.* 22,11 (PL 16,1023 A).

2) *Epist.* 22,10 (PL 16,1022 B).

3) See above p. 79, n. 3.

4) *Noë* 8,26 (CSEL 32,1, p. 430,3).

5) v. CAMPENHAUSEN, *Die Idee* ..., 162.





the Christians from the accidental to the fundamental aspects of martyrdom<sup>1</sup>). He accordingly holds up the martyr in his sermons as the outstanding example of Christian faith and Christian life; he represents him first and foremost as a witness of divine truth, and then only as one who has conquered the devil and the world; the martyr inspires his followers to contempt of death and complete renunciation of the world. In stressing the witness-aspect St. Augustine revived the Scriptural meaning of martyrdom, which in the foregoing centuries had, to some extent, fallen into the background. St. Augustine's intention was not only to oppose the erroneous views of martyrdom and the merely external cult of the martyrs, but also to refute the claim to the *gloria martyrum* of the Donatists when they were persecuted by the Christian emperors<sup>2</sup>). In his controversy with the Donatists he denies that the essence of martyrdom consists in the mere physical death of the sufferer, to which point of view the popular ideas of the fourth century might have given rise. He asserts that martyrdom essentially consists in witnessing to the truth and thereby dying for Christ's sake. He repeatedly declares that *martyrem non facit poena, sed causa*<sup>3</sup>). As regards the secondary aspect of martyrdom, its victory over the devil, St. Augustine holds the traditional view of the whole of Christian Antiquity, especially that of St. Cyprian and of St. Ambrose, his model as a bishop. It is also in this context that he deals with the *gloria martyrum*. As the other Christian authors St. Augustine, too, speaks of the *gloria sanctorum* in contrast to profane glory. *Audite sequentem versum: 'Exsultabunt sancti in gloria: laetabuntur in cubilibus suis'. Non in theatris, non in amphitheatris, non in circis, non in nugis, non in foris; sed in cubilibus suis. Quid est 'in cubilibus suis'? In cordibus suis*<sup>4</sup>). *Gloria nostra haec est testimonium conscientiae nostrae* (II Cor. 1.12)<sup>5</sup>). Only glory in the eyes of God is imperishable; therefore this is the only true glory, since no one wants to lose his fame,

1) V. D. MEER, *Augustinus*, 547ff.; COURCELLE, *Recherches*, 139-152; cf. *serm.* 277,1 (PL 38,1258), *Praestitit ergo (Deus) sanctorum corpora Ecclesiis suis ad memorias orationum, non ad glorias martyrum. Illi enim habent integram gloriam suam apud Creatorem suum.*

2) Cf. *epist.* 185,II,8 (CSEL 57, p. 8,10); *c. Parm.* 1,9,15 (CSEL 51, p. 36,4-26).

3) *Epist.* 204,4 (CSEL 57, p. 319,18); cf. *c. Gaud.* 1,26,29 (CSEL 53, p. 227,19); *epist.* 105, 5 (CSEL 34,2, p. 598,20).

4) *In psalm.* 149,11 (PL 37,1955).

5) II Cor. 1.12; cf. I Cor. 1.31; Aug. *serm.* M. Denis 20,7; *serm.* M. Frangipane 5,5-6.

*vult enim eam solidam habere in conscientia coram Deo, ubi nulla iactantia est*<sup>1)</sup>).

St. Augustine's observations on the contrast between profane glory and the *gloria sanctorum* are far more elaborate and concrete than in any other Christian author. He elucidates the contrast by opposing the heroic fame of the martyrs to the classical Roman ideal of glory. In this opposition he sees the deepest and widest gulf between Christianity and the ancient pagan culture: *Omnes homines amantes superbiam . . . omnesque spiritus qui talia diligunt et gloriam suam subiectione hominum quaerunt, simul una societate devincti sunt; . . . et rursus omnes homines et omnes spiritus humiliter Dei gloriam quaerentes, non suam, et eum pietate sectantes, ad unam pertinent societatem*<sup>2)</sup>). In *De Civitate Dei* he enlarges on this subject, particularly in *Liber 14 caput 28, De qualitate duarum civitatum, terrenae atque caelestis: Denique illa in seipsa, haec in Domino gloriatur. Illa enim quaerit ab hominibus gloriam; huic autem Deus conscientiae testis maxima est gloria*. As we have seen previously, the Roman ideal of glory implied moderation and imposed restrictions such as the interest of the State and the tradition of the *gens*; it combined ambition and *pietas*, and this combination was embodied by Vergil in Aeneas. It is therefore not surprising that St. Augustine, being more interested in *pietas*, makes references to Vergil, while St. Ambrose, laying stress on the element of *moderatio* in *gloria*, reminds us of Livy and the Stoa. The *pietas* of the ancient Romans was a false one according to St. Augustine. In a lyrical passage from the *De Civitate Dei* (!) he appeals to the ancient sense of greatness and calls upon the Romans to strive after true glory made perfect by true piety: *O indoles Romana laudabilis, o progenies Regulorum, Scaevolorum, Scipionum, Fabriciorum, . . . si quid in te laudabile naturaliter eminet, non nisi vera pietate purgatur atque perficitur, impietate autem disperditur et punitur. Nunc iam elige quid sequaris, ut non in te, sed in Deo vero sine ullo errore lauderis. Tunc enim tibi gloria popularis adfuit, sed occulto iudicio divinae providentiae vera religio quam eligeres defuit. Expergiscere, dies est, sicut experrecta es in quibusdam, de quorum virtute perfecta et pro fide vera etiam passionibus gloriamur, qui usquequaque adversus potestates inimi-*

1) In *psalm.* 7,4 (PL 36,100).

2) *Catech. rud.* 19,31.

*cissimas confligentes easque fortiter moriendo vincendo 'sanguine nobis hanc patriam peperere suo' (Aen. 11,24)*<sup>1)</sup>. Here St. Augustine clearly refers to Vergil's Aeneid. He draws no comparisons between the *gloria caelestis* and degenerate forms of profane ambition; he compares the martyr as the model of perfection only with the noblest examples of human greatness of pagan Antiquity, even with Aeneas, who after all was not a reality, but only an imaginary and literary ideal of a glorious and 'pious' Roman. After dealing with the history of Rome, in which he compares the Christian and classical heroes, St. Augustine prefers the martyrs *qui Scaevolas et Curios et Decios non sibi inferendo poenas, sed inflatas ferendo et virtute vera, quoniam vera pietate, et innumerabili multitudine superarunt*<sup>2)</sup>.

As has been said, this glory was acquired by a victory over the devil, the world and the flesh; for God *praeparat civitatis beatissimae gloriam triumphantibus de illo qui primum hominem ad istam miseriam perduxit victum pessima persuasione*<sup>3)</sup>. The conception of martyrdom as a bloody victory over the devil is found already in Tertullian and St. Cyprian, and still plays an important part in St. Augustine. *Nisi mors amara esset, martyrum gloria nihil esset. Si nihil est mors, quid magnum martyres contemserunt?*<sup>4)</sup>. A real combat and real victory are only there where blood is shed: *ubi usque ad sanguinem certamen, ibi gloriosissima et plena victoria*<sup>5)</sup>. Hence the most honourable glory of all, in fact the only true glory, is won by blood: *Magna est, fratres, martyrum gloria, prima in ecclesia: quaecumque sunt aliae, sequentes sunt*<sup>6)</sup>. This conception of martyrdom is related to the military metaphors, which describe the Church as an army tent<sup>7)</sup> and wounds as the *insignia*<sup>8)</sup>. These traditional elements derived from Tertullian and St. Cyprian are also found in St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. Tertullian and St. Cyprian lay special emphasis on

1) *Civ.* 2,29; cf. *civ.* 5,14.

2) *Civ.* 5,14.

3) *Lib. arb.* 3,20,57 (PL 32,1299); further on *Non enim parvae gloriae militiae est diabolus vincere*; *civ.* 14,27.

4) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 31,3.

5) *Serm.* 284,5 (PL 38,1291).

6) *Serm. M. Denis* 18,3.

7) *In psalm.* 30 *enarr.* 2 *serm.* 3,8 (PL 36,253); *serm.* 312,6 (PL 38,1422); *in psalm.* 40,1 (PL 36,452).

8) *Civ.* 22,19.



the shedding of blood and describe martyrdom as defying the pagan judge, facing torture with courage and finally overcoming the devil in a bloody combat. On the other hand, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine lay more stress on the martyr's contempt of death. In the works of St. Ambrose this contempt has something stoical about it, and in St. Augustine it assumes the character of a general renunciation of the world. To him martyrdom is the highest ideal of perfection, since it is the most radical renunciation of the world. To the minds of Tertullian and St. Cyprian the martyrs fought against a pagan society which was commanded by the devil and personified by the pagan judge. According to St. Ambrose and especially St. Augustine the martyr primarily fights against his own self and his love of life. Martyrdom is the logical consequence of renouncing the world: *Exhortans ergo ad martyrium Dominus Christus omnibus dixit, 'Sic, qui non renuntiat omnibus quae eius sunt, non potest esse meus discipulus'*<sup>1)</sup>. Here martyrdom is almost placed on a level with asceticism. In his sermon on *Beatissimus Cyprianus gloriosorum praeliorum doctor et gloriosus ipse praeliator* St. Augustine draws a detailed picture of St. Cyprian's victory: *Vicit ista omnia Cyprianus. Quid enim non vicit, qui vitam ipsam omnibus temptationibus redundantem contempsit? Mortem illi minatus est iudex; ille confessus est Christum, paratus mori pro Christo. Ubi mors venerit, nulla remanebit ambitio, nulla curiositas oculorum, nulla appetitio sordidarum et carnalium voluptatum: una vita comtemta omnia superantur*<sup>2)</sup>. So the *gloria martyrum* is won by a victory over the *amor vitae* and the *timor mortis*. In a sermon on St. Perpetua and Felicitas he uses this idea to play upon the words: *Victoria in fine Perpetua, o Victoria sine labe! o finis sine fine! Quid est enim victoria perpetua, nisi victoria sine fine? Hoc est vincere carnis illecebras, vincere perversi iudicis minas, vincere corporis dolorem, vincere vitae amorem*<sup>3)</sup>.

From all this it is clear that the victory of the martyr and consequently also his glory have a spiritual and moral character and so reflect the spirit of the age. St. Augustine refers explicitly to the spiritual character when he says: *Regnaverunt hic ergo*

1) *Serm. M. Denis* 17,5; cf. *util. cred.* 17,35 (CSEL 25,1, p. 45,6-10), *totius huius mundi aspernatio usque ad desiderium mortis intenditur. Pauci haec faciunt, pauciores bene prudenterque faciunt, sed populi probant, populi laudant, populi favent.*

2) *Serm. M. Denis* 14,4; cf. *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 6,27 (PL 45,1571).

3) *Serm. M. Frangipane* 6,1.

*patriarchae et prophetae, ut ista regna deum dare et auferre ostenderetur, non hic regnaverunt apostoli et martyres, ut regnum caelorum desiderandum potius panderetur. Illi regia bella gesserunt, ut tales quoque victorias adpareret dei voluntate praestari, isti non resistendo interfecti sunt ut potioem esse docerent victoriam pro fide veritatis occidi<sup>1)</sup>.*

Besides this moral and spiritual character, there are also other aspects to the victory of the martyrs; they are expressed in the expansion of the Church and sometimes even in the political victories of the Christian emperors. As we have seen previously, St. Augustine represents the martyr first and foremost as a witness of divine truth. Also the effect which the testimony of the martyr had on the minds of the heathen naturally takes a more prominent place, since St. Augustine did not consider the heathen merely as vile enemies against whom the martyr had to fight<sup>2)</sup>. Thus the two aspects of martyrdom, as a testimony and as a victory, go together, because both elements result in the conversion of the heathen. This new pearl in the crown of the martyrs has already been referred to when we dealt with St. Ambrose's ideas of the *gloria martyrum*. This *motif* is emphasized by St. Augustine with all the force of rhetoric at his command. In the days of St. Ambrose already it was clear that the day of Christian victory was approaching, though paganism was still a powerful force. But during St. Augustine's episcopate not only the emperor had embraced Christianity but also the empire<sup>3)</sup>. There were still difficulties: especially as the result of heresies, the Church did not enjoy complete peace *in tantis malis, in tantis scandalis, in tanta permixtione hominum pessimorum, in tantis obprobriis impiorum*<sup>4)</sup>. Still, within the Roman Empire the majority of people were Christians and members of the Catholic Church. Even *reges ei serviunt*<sup>5)</sup>. This theme is very frequent in St. Augustine: *Crediderunt et reges, qui primo persequendo martyres fecerant*<sup>6)</sup>. The Church is full of glory: '*Omnes gentes servient illi*' (psalm 71.11).

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1) *c. Faust.* 22,76 (CSEL 25,1, p. 676,2-7).

2) Cf. *serm. Lambot*, RB 50 (1938), p. 14,1-10; *serm.* 286,4,3 (PL 38,1298).

3) DE JONG I, 169.

4) *Perf. iust.* 15,35 (CSEL 42, p. 35,24-26); cf. *in psalm.* 34 *serm.* 2,8 (PL 36,338).

5) *Perf. iust.* 15,35 (CSEL 42, p. 36,1).

6) *Serm. M. Denis* 24,9.

*Christiani quoque imperatores plenam gerentes fiduciam pietatis in Christo de inimicis sacrilegis, qui spem suam in sacramentis idolorum daemonumque posuerant, gloriosissimam victoriam perceperunt*<sup>1)</sup>. The situation of paganism had undergone a fundamental change; a pagan *potuit dicere in corde suo victos esse in se deos suos, desertum se esse a diis suis*<sup>2)</sup>.

St. Augustine marvels at the wonderful expansion of the Church and points to the past as its cause: *Ante paucos annos non eramus; et mirum est quomodo factum sit, ut quod per tot saecula non erant, modo sint*<sup>3)</sup>. The Church of the martyrs was an insignificant and pitiful community like the woman in the gospel who for twelve years had an issue of blood and had bestowed all her substance on physicians and could not be healed by anyone, *in qua erat ecclesiae gentium figura*<sup>4)</sup>. This woman was *sanguineis passionibus fatigata, ut ecclesia in martyribus effusione sanguinis afflicta et saucia, sed fidei virtutibus plena; quae antea expendit substantiam suam medicis, id est diis gentium qui eam numquam curare potuerunt*<sup>5)</sup>. But St. Augustine found that she had been healed by Christ in his days, so that the Church *ignominiae viduitatis suae memor non sit, quia paululum derelicta et obprobriis obiecta tam eminenti gloria reflorescit*<sup>6)</sup>. According to St. Augustine this prosperity of the Church is primarily due to the blood of the martyrs and the glory of the Church is in fact the glory of the martyrs: *Ad multiplicandam ecclesiam valuit sanctus sanguis effusus, seminationi accessit et mors martyrum*<sup>7)</sup>. *Et ecce videmus ecclesiam toto terrarum orbe diffusam... Sed ut hoc fieret, quando paucitas erat, fortitudo magna erat... o beati perdendo animas suas! o felicia detrimenta! Sic proiciunt, sic perdunt, qui seminant*<sup>8)</sup>. *Exauditi ergo sunt qui erant in pressura et humilitate; ut esset nostris temporibus ecclesia in tanta gloria, quam videmus, ut iam regna quae persequabantur, ipsa serviant Domino*<sup>9)</sup>. In blood the Church brought forth those multitudes of Christians: *martyrum*

1) c. Faust. 22,76 (CSEL 25,1, p. 676,13-17).

2) Serm. M. Morin 1,1.

3) Serm. M. Denis 24,5.

4) Serm. M. Guelferb. 24,5.

5) Serm. M. Mai 95,6.

6) Cons. evang. 1,32,49 (CSEL 43, p. 54,1-3).

7) Serm. 40,1 (PL 38,454); cf. in psalm. 78,8 (PL 36,1014), exhortante illorum gloria ad imitandum accensi, copiosissimis agminibus crediderunt.

8) Serm. M. Morin 15,1.

9) In psalm. 101 serm. 2,5 (PL 37,1307).

*sanguine parturivit*<sup>1)</sup>. St. Augustine could therefore sum up the changes which came about in the fourth century in these words: *Iacuit omnis superstitio gentium... martyrium coronabatur*<sup>2)</sup>.

Eternal happiness and a prominent position with imperishable honour and glory in Heaven will be the martyrs' reward of their sufferings and victory on earth. Evidently to St. Augustine heavenly glory did not only mean fame or renown, but also immortality, glorification of the body and the vision of God. The following texts from St. Augustine's works clearly show that *gloria* as applied to the reward of the martyrs in Heaven, usually includes the aspect of renown and often means nothing more than just their heavenly fame or renown in the eyes of God, the angels and the other Saints.

Speaking of *De aeterna felicitate civitatis Dei sabbatoque perpetuo* in the conclusion of *De Civitate Dei*, he says: *Vere ibi gloria erit, ubi laudantis nec errore quisquam nec adulatione laudabitur; verus honor, qui nulli negabitur digno, nulli deferetur indigno*<sup>3)</sup>. A detailed description of this glory is difficult: *Ceterum qui futuri sint pro meritis praemiorum etiam gradus honorum atque gloriarum, quis est idoneus cogitare, quanto magis dicere?*<sup>4)</sup>. But it is certain that a very honourable place is reserved for those *qui honorem tantum inter angelos quaesierunt*<sup>5)</sup>. Expressing his admiration he continues: *Videmus eorum glorias in terris et stupemus. Quid pateremur si in caelo videremus? Quantum nos stupor admirationis apprehenderet si videremus martyres inter angelos gloriantes, quorum natalicia videmus populos celebrantes*<sup>6)</sup>. And the martyrs deserve this honour, for, as he says in his sermon on Perpetua and Felicitas, *cur omnia martyres perferunt, nisi ut perpetua felicitate gloriantur?*<sup>7)</sup>.

With regard to the prominent place the martyrs occupy in Heaven, it is certain that after death they reign with Christ: *Sed certe animae victrices gloriosissimorum martyrum omnibus doloribus ac laboribus superatis atque finitis, postea quam mortalia membra posuerunt, cum Christo utique regnaverunt et regnant,*

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1) *Epist.* 243,8 (CSEL 57, p. 574,6).

2) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 59 (1949), p. 70.

3) *Civ.* 22,30.

4) *Civ.* 22,30.

5) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 46 (1934), p.403,130.

6) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 46 (1934), p. 403,130-137.

7) *Serm.* 281,3,3 (PL 38,1285).

*donec finiantur mille anni*<sup>1)</sup>. Moreover, as the whole of Christian Antiquity accepts, they will be the co-judges with Christ at the Last Judgement, *cum Christo sublimiter iudicaturi*<sup>2)</sup>. It causes no surprise therefore, that St. Augustine compares the *numerus sanctorum* to the *numerus senatorum*, and the *gloria caelestis* to the *terrestris curia*<sup>3)</sup>. As the senators are distinguished from the ordinary people, so the martyrs are distinguished from the ordinary saints: *gloriosissimi martyres praecipua sui honoris luce fulgebunt*<sup>4)</sup>. And as appears from these texts cited above the martyrs continue their victory by reigning and sitting in judgement with Christ. The same is true of the Church; *gloriosissimam civitatem Dei... in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae, quam nunc expectat per patientiam, quoadusque iustitia convertatur in iudicium, deinceps adeptura per excellentiam victoria ultima et pace perfecta*<sup>5)</sup>.

In the words of St. Augustine we may say, *denique his praemissis futurae videlicet retributionis finibus, etiam in hoc mundo martyrum gloriam demonstramus. Quae hodie regio quaeve provincia ulla, quo usque vel Romanum Imperium, vel Christianum nomen extenditur, natalem non gaudet celebrare Vincentii?*<sup>6)</sup>. This universal character of the martyr's glory on earth is often emphasized by him. *Iam videte sanctos, videte gloriam eorum, videte per universum mundum*<sup>7)</sup>, and *istam gloriam meruerunt per totum mundum, contemnendo mundum*<sup>8)</sup>. This honour and veneration they receive on earth complete their victory: *Quid hac victoria gloriosius? ... Neque cum tanto concursu hominum ad eos occidendos cavea crudelitatis impleta est, quanto nunc ad eos honorandos ecclesia pietatis impletur*<sup>9)</sup>. They have won so much glory as to surpass all former politicians, soldiers and heroes. *Si terrena ab eis quaererentur, quid huic gloriae addi potest qua eorum natalicia celebrantur? Insanierunt pro gloria multi viri fortes, et pro patria sanguinem fundendum esse dixerunt, nec fundere dubitaverunt, scientes transire quidem ipsam vitam sed remanere vel*

1) *Civ.* 20,13.

2) *Epist.* 157,4,36 (CSEL 44, p. 483,10ff.).

3) *Epist.* 125,3 (CSEL 44, p. 5,23).

4) *Serm.* 280,5,5 (PL 38,1283).

5) *Civ.*, praefatio.

6) *Serm.* 276,4,4 (PL 38,1257).

7) *In psalm.* 149,11 (PL 37,1955).

8) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 23,1.

9) *Serm.* 280,2,2 (PL 38,1281).

*immortalem in illis gloriam. Quae illorum gloria gloriae martyrum comparatur? Quis potest invenire in gloria huius terrae, quis potest invenire in gloria humanarum rerum, quis potuit invenire dictator quod potuit invenire piscator? Virorum fortium qui pro patria perierunt sepulchra sunt Romae. Ad cuius sepulchrum intrare dignatus est imperator?*<sup>1)</sup>. Besides, the martyrs still add new glory to this corona by the miracles that take place on their tombs; *ad Anconam, Italiae civitatem, ubi per gloriosissimum martyrem Stephanum multa miracula Dominus operatur*<sup>2)</sup>. He regrets that many of those miracles do not receive the same praise as Christ's miracles: *Nam etiam nunc fiunt miracula in eius nomine, sive per sacramenta eius sive per orationes vel memorias sanctorum eius; sed non eadem claritate inlustrantur, ut tanta quanta illa gloria diffamentur*<sup>3)</sup>. Hereupon St. Augustine records twenty-five miracles<sup>4)</sup>, and concludes: *praecessit eorum mira patientia, ut in his miraculis tanta ista potentia sequeretur*<sup>5)</sup>.

Yet in the eyes of St. Augustine this earthly honour and veneration represent only a very accidental aspect of their glory. God does not favour those excessive festivities in honour of the martyrs: *Praestitit ergo sanctorum corpora ecclesiis suis ad memorias orationum, non ad glorias martyrum*<sup>6)</sup>. The glory of the martyrs on earth is but a shade of their real glory in Heaven: *Quanta est gloria apud Deum, dum tanta est laus eius apud homines?*<sup>7)</sup> *Illi enim habent integram gloriam suam apud Creatorem suum*<sup>8)</sup>.

On the other hand it is true to say that, apart from the Donatists<sup>9)</sup> and those who committed suicide in order to receive the *gloria martyrum*, many Christians also coveted this dazzling glory. In the words of St. Augustine, *Sunt enim qui cum audierint venturas tribulationes, armant se magis, et quasi potum suum sitiunt: parvam enim sibi putant fidelium medicinam, sed quaerunt*

1) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 46 (1934), p. 403,123-137.

2) *Serm.* 322 (PL 38,1444); cf. *serm.* 303,1 (PL 38,1374), on the benefits conferred upon Rome by St. Lawrence; *epist.* 212 (CSEL 57, p. 372,8), on St. Stephen.

3) *Civ.* 22,8 i.e.

4) *Civ.* 22,8 i.c.

5) *Civ.* 22,9.

6) *Serm.* 277,1,1 (PL 38,1258).

7) *Serm.* 303,1 (PL 38,1394).

8) *Serm.* 277,1,1 (PL 38,1258).

9) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 51 (1939), p. 23,23-26; *patient.* 7,10 (CSEL 41, p. 674,20).

*et martyrum gloriam*<sup>1)</sup>). This general admiration of the martyrs and this desire for martyrdom clearly illustrate how in those days the *gloria martyrum* was considered as the most sublime ideal of Christian perfection.

To sum up we may say that in the eyes of St. Augustine a martyr by his confession and death conquers himself, he overcomes his love for this earthly life in particular, and at the same time defeats the devil within him. This is the personal or individual aspect of his victory. This victory has also a collective aspect, which consists in the expansion of the Christian religion throughout the world; this expansion finally caused the political victory of Christianity. Through his bloody victory the martyr wins immortal glory and honour; primarily in Heaven with God and the Saints (it is his privilege to be co-ruler and co-judge with Christ), and secondarily on earth in the eyes of the Christians (they commemorate his death, venerate his grave, invoke and praise his powerful intercession and miraculous help).

## 6. ST. LEO THE GREAT.

The idea of *gloria martyrum* is also found in St. Leo, though not so detailed and varied as in St. Augustine. We do not find new aspects of it. Therefore we can be very brief in dealing with the ideas of St. Leo.

St. Leo realizes that the Christian idea of glory has acquired a new and original character entirely different from the profane ideal of glory. On the feast of the Holy Innocents he gives expression to it in a sermon: *Nova gloria coronabat infantes, et de initiis suis parvulorum primordia consecrabat: ut disceretur neminem hominum divini incapacem esse sacramenti, quando etiam illa aetas gloriae esset apta martyrii*<sup>2)</sup>. Similarly he points out, in another passage, that the glory which Christ brought is the *gloria martyrii*<sup>3)</sup>. This glory divides the Christian community into two, and creates two different ranks, martyrs and ordinary Christians: *universitas Deo servientium Deoque viventium, sicut in Christo est crucifixa, ita est in Christo coronanda: illis quidem in omni gloria praecellentibus, qui terribiles mortes et saeva tormenta usque ad exhalationem spiritus tolerando superaverunt, sed etiam iis subsequenter* (i.e.

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1) *Serm.* 46,5,12 (PL 38,296).

2) *Leo, serm.* 32,3 (PL 54,239 C).

3) *Serm.* 36,2 (PL 54,255 A); 37,4 (PL 54,257 B).

the other Christians) . . . <sup>1)</sup>). Also the idea of victory, the conception of Christian life, and of martyrdom in particular, as a struggle and a combat, often find expression in St. Leo; thus when he addresses the executioners of St. Lawrence he says: *Quid non ad victoris gloriam ingenium tuum reperit quando in honorem transierunt triumphi, etiam instrumenta supplicii?* <sup>2)</sup>).

## 7. THE 'GLORIA MARTYRUM' IN EARLY-CHRISTIAN ART.

In his work 'Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum' KARL BAUS <sup>3)</sup> has given us the result of his investigation into the meaning and usage of the wreath in paganism and Christianity; he has established to what extent these worlds influenced each other and found that for the Christians the essential meaning conveyed by the wreath was the idea of glory, and consequently calls it the wreath of glory, the 'Ruhmeskranz' <sup>4)</sup>). He only gives an outline sketch of the nature of this glory. We shall try, therefore, to describe in further detail the symbolic meaning of the wreath in early-Christian Art, starting from our analysis of the idea of glory in Christian literature. We intend to show that the treatment of glory in literature and plastic arts betrays a striking similarity; we also propose to analyse the ideas underlying the various plastic representations and imagery in the treatment of glory in those arts, and thus we hope to ascertain more clearly the associative and mental background of the iconographic representations. The result may not be a discovery of new aspects of this Christian ideal of glory, but will certainly throw fresh light on it.

Christian literature has a far richer and more varied content than Christian plastic art. Hence texts from literature must often serve to explain the monuments and bring out their Christian meanings stripped of all profane borrowings, though in some cases monuments help to explain the texts. The word *gloria* has a wide range of meanings, it stands for Christian renown as well as for the epiphanic splendour of God. But as BAUS has shown, the wreath in Christian iconography is the exclusive symbol of victory. God's majestic splendour takes shape in the symbols of light and the

1) *Serm.* 69,5 (PL 54,379 B).

2) *Serm.* 85,4 (PL 54,437 A).

3) KARL BAUS, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum*, Bonn 1940; DACL III, 2, 3014ff.; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, IV, 3014ff.

4) BAUS 101: σύμβολον τῆς νίκης (Joh. Chrysostomos).



*motifs* of power. In iconography the line is clearly drawn, and therefore is a help to a better understanding of the texts. In the following pages we shall try to explain from the Christian point of view the various representations and compositions in which the wreath finds adoption. The representations with which we are concerned here are those of Christ with the wreath and the wreaths of the martyrs.

The texts of St. Peter and St. Paul containing *corona immarcescibilis* (I Petr. 5.4), *corona iustitiae* (II Tim. 4.8) and *corona incorrupta* (I Cor. 9.25) greatly fascinated the Christians. Such phrases are common figures of speech in Christian literature of the third century. Therefore it is a remarkable fact that before peace was granted to the Church in 313 A.D., nowhere or practically nowhere do we find the wreath. There is a doubt about the dates of some frescoes in the Catacombs, which represent martyrs carrying a wreath; but these are probably later than 313 A.D., and we shall therefore place them in that period. Before 313 A.D. we find indeed representations of martyrs, but without the symbols of their glory; they are represented as praying with uplifted hands, the so-called *orantes*, who have nothing to offer, but only to ask. SCHRIJNEN ascribes the Christian representations of the marriage-wreath to the third century, which is probably too early<sup>1</sup>). It is safe to say that before 313 A.D. the wreath does not occur in Christian art.

Here we are evidently dealing with some form of religious taboo. BAUS has set out in detail the rational and theological grounds on which the Christian writers rejected the profane wreath<sup>2</sup>). In this connexion one may wonder why the Christians hesitated so long to use the wreath in the arts as a symbol of Christian glory, while the language both of literature and preaching must have urged them in that direction.

Among the many objections raised by the Christian writers against the use of the wreath is its close connexion with pagan ceremonies and sacrifices; this is really the chief reason why it was avoided. In the eyes of the Christians the wreath belonged to the idolatrous cult; as such the wreath was principally a tangible,

1) J. SCHRIJNEN, *La Couronne nuptiale dans l'Antiquité chrétienne*, Collectanea Schrijnen, p. 272: 'la seconde moitié du IIIe siècle'.

2) BAUS 40ff. Some Christians used the wreath at nuptial festivities, but in general it is rather difficult to ascertain the attitude the Christian people assumed towards the wreath in practical life.





material object. Against this wreath the Christians set the *corona immarcescibilis*; this is primarily a symbolic picture to express a spiritual idea namely *gloria*. So to St. Cyprian, for instance, *coronae martyrum* is often the same as *gloriae martyrum*<sup>1)</sup> In many instances *corona* has lost its metaphorical character and merely stands for the reward in Heaven. The Christians sharply contrasted this spiritual *corona gloriae* with the instrument of idolatry. This contrast was a matter of principle and had a strongly emotional background, because during the persecutions the Christians, when ordered to sacrifice, had inevitably to decide between the material, sacrificial wreath and the *corona caelestis gloriae* which, though intangible, was more real and sublime. This sharp contrast was indeed realized as such, as appears from several texts; St. Cyprian for example says of the martyrs: *frons cum signo Dei pura diaboli coronam ferre non potuit, coronae se Domini reservavit*<sup>2)</sup>. This antithesis explains why the Christians refused to represent their completely spiritual conception of glory by a material wreath, which in its material form stood in their eyes precisely for the instrument of idolatry. Only when the persecutions had come to an end and this sharp antithesis between the profane and celestial wreath no longer existed, did the wreath begin to occupy a prominent place in Christian art.

After the Edict of Milan, which put an end to the persecutions, the wreath ceased to be the characteristic symbol of a strictly pagan cult and began to be used on the Christian monuments. Nevertheless it was a very gradual process; with much hesitation the Christian accepted the wreath as a symbol in the plastic arts, and it is only after 350 A.D. that its occurrence becomes frequent. In the period between 350 and 400 A.D. the wreath is very frequently used as the symbol of Christian glory and victory. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact dates of the various monuments and works of art. With the necessary reserve we believe ourselves to be justified in saying that already before 350 A.D. the martyrs were represented with a wreath as a sign of their victory. In the first half of the fourth century we find representations, the first in the catacombs, of martyrs carrying in their hands a wreath as the symbol of their *gloria martyrum*<sup>3)</sup>. The apostles and martyrs are also often

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1) Cf. Cypr. *laps.* 4 (CSEL 3,1, p. 239,9-10).

2) Cypr. *laps.* 2 (CSEL 3,1, p. 238,6-8).

3) WM Taf. 93; 95,2; 255,2.

represented with a wreath hovering over their heads (Pl. II)<sup>1</sup>). Sometimes they are seen receiving a wreath from Christ, *sufficit ad testimonium martyrii sui testis ille qui probat martyras et coronat* (Pl. III)<sup>2</sup>); sometimes it is the hand of God, which holds the wreath over the martyr's head, *honorificante Patre coronas gloriosissimas receperunt*<sup>3</sup>). On the 'goldglass' medallions martyrs are sometimes separately depicted with a wreath<sup>4</sup>), but in the mosaics and the sarcophagi they are always, as a group, concerned in some action, either in being crowned or in offering a wreath to Christ<sup>5</sup>). We see them mostly in procession offering their wreaths to Christ or in acclamation clustered round the Cross-trophy<sup>6</sup>). St. Peter and Paul sometimes have no wreath in those processions, but then Peter carries a cross, a more glorious trophy of his martyrdom, while the *Doctor gentium* is indicated by a scroll<sup>7</sup>). Thus St. Leo the Great addressing St. Peter says: *tropaeum crucis Christi Romanis arcibus infererebas, quod te divinis ordinationibus anteibant et honor potestatis et gloria passionis*<sup>8</sup>). Those compositions continue also after 400 A.D. and reach their monumental perfection in the apses of the churches of Santa Pudenziana, SS. Cosma e Damiano and San Vitale<sup>9</sup>). Not only in basilicas but also in baptisteries we find the apostles with a wreath in their hands proceeding towards Christ<sup>10</sup>). Also on the sarcophagi of Ravenna the apostles offer wreaths to Christ<sup>11</sup>). On a fragment of another sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum lambs carrying a wreath in their mouths move towards a central figure, the whole representing Christ surrounded by His apostles<sup>12</sup>).

The first thing that strikes us in the enumeration of the

1) WS Tav. 11,4; 238,7; 239,1-2; H. ACHELIS, *Die Katakomben von Neapel*, Taf. 32 and 34.

2) Cypr. *epist.* 58,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 660,3-5). — WM Taf. 125; 258; the apse of San Vitale Ravenna; GARRUCCI, Tav. 181; 182,1; 184,3; 185,3; 193,8-9.

3) Aug. in *evang. Iob.* 51,12,13 (PL 35,1769). — W. NEUSS, *Die Kunst der alten Christen*, Abb. 141; ACHELIS, Taf. 41; P. STYGER, *Die römische Martyrergrotte* 2, Taf. 78 b.

4) GARRUCCI, Tav. 154,3; 155,2; 179,2-4; 183; 185; 189,6; 192,6; 193,4-5; 194,2-6.

5) WS Tav. 18,1,5; 33,2; 45,2; 238,5; H. v. SYBEL, *Christl. Antike* 2, Abb. 49.

6) The Cross-trophy is the Christ-monogram surrounded by a wreath and placed upon the standard of the cross, with the purple *taeniae* of the wreath hanging down from the cross-beam.

7) H. DÜTSCHKE, *Ravennatische Studien*, Abb. 4a and 36a.

8) Leo *serm.* 82,5 (PL 54,425 B).

9) Santa Pudenziana (± 410 A.D.), SS. Cosma e Damiano (526 A.D.), San Vitale (547-550 A.D.); see Pl. III and IV, cp. Pl. I.

10) Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna; Baptistry of Soter, Naples; Baptistry of the Arians and of the Orthodoxes, Ravenna.

11) DÜTSCHKE, Abb. 4a; 28b,c; 36a.

12) WS Tav. 251,3.





monuments is that except on the 'goldglass' medallions the wreath is always connected with some action. This clearly shows that in the fourth century the wreath was still a living symbol, its meaning explained itself. The martyrs are the soldiers of Christ who, in His name, fought and overcame the devil and now receive from their *imperator* the wreath of victory. Their victory over Satan is not merely a moral victory but a bloody one. St. Cyprian says emphatically: *Confessio exordium gloriae est, non meritum iam coronae*<sup>1)</sup>. Only the martyr, the bloodwitness, is entitled to the laurel wreath which marks him as a victor in the act of being crowned. After 400 A.D. the wreath acquires more and more the character of a badge, and loses much of its symbolic signification. From then onward we also see more representations of individual martyrs crowned with a wreath: by then the wreath has become an attribute<sup>2)</sup>.

A remarkable circumstance is that the martyrs never wear the wreath on their heads or round their shoulders; it is always carried in their hands, hovers over their heads or is held by Christ or the Father above their heads, even in the case of Christ himself. Nor is there any suggestion in literature that the martyr actually wears the wreath on his head. When texts speak of crowning the martyrs with wreaths they use terms as *coronare, coronam accipere, ad coronam venire* and the like<sup>3)</sup>. There is indeed mention of martyrs wearing wreaths, but never of wearing them on their heads: the latter seems to have been unknown to the Christians. Tertullian repudiates it emphatically: *Neminem dico fidelium coronam capite nosse alias extra tempus temptationis eiusmodi. Omnes ita observant a catechumenis usque ad confessores et martyres vel negatores*<sup>4)</sup>. His argument against it is that hairs have no sense of smell, and it is therefore against nature to wear a wreath on the head: *nos coronam naribus novimus*<sup>5)</sup>. This is a purely rational *argumentum ad hoc*, which does not explain the fact. The Christians evidently were opposed to wearing a wreath on the head. The question is why this avoidance took this rather strange form, for it was not directed against the object itself, but against a particular method

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1) Cypr. *unit. eccl.* 21 (CSEL 3,2, p. 228,15); cf. Aug. *serm.* 284,5 (PL 39,1291), *Ubi usque ad sanguinem certamen, ibi gloriosissima et plena victoria.*

2) WM Taf. 255,2.

3) *Pass. Perp.* 19,2.

4) Tert. *coron.* 2,1 (C.Christ. II, 1041,1-4).

5) Tert. *apol.* 42,6 (C.Christ. I, 157,24).



of use. This points to the fact that for the Christians the wreath had a symbolic significance rather than a functional one, whereas for the heathen the opposite was the case. As has been said the wreath was the symbol of glory and this conception of it was still vividly present in the minds of the Christians. Just as *gloria* understood as 'glory won through victory' often stands for the undivided joys of Heaven, so the wreath also frequently denotes the *coronae vitae aeternae*; in such cases it very nearly has the meaning of *praemium*. It is precisely this spiritual content and meaning of *corona* which ran counter to the pagan practice of using the wreath as an instrument of idolatry; this usage was not in accordance with its symbolic significance.

#### D. 'GLORIA MARTYRUM' IN ITS WIDER SENSE

1. **Tertullian.** — In the eyes of Tertullian, himself a son of an army officer, the entire life of a Christian was a continuous warfare. *Vis pugilatus et luctatus? ... Aspice impudicitiam deiectam a castitate, perfidiam caesam a fide ... tales sunt apud nos agones, in quibus ipsi coronamur*<sup>1)</sup>. Those who distinguish themselves in this warfare by some conspicuous achievement earn for themselves eternal glory. Among those the martyrs hold pride of place. Besides them there are the virgins, who are also distinguished from the common Christians by their heroic mode of life. Their virginity entitles them to glory<sup>2)</sup>; they must look, however, to God for this glory, not to men. But the highest glory they only acquire if they attain martyrdom: *Plane gloriabitur christianus etiam in carne, sed cum propter Christum lacerata duraverit, ut spiritus in ea coronetur, non ut oculos et suspiria adolescentium post se trahat*<sup>3)</sup>.

2. **St. Cyprian.** — St. Cyprian goes the length of applying the metaphors of warfare and victory to the virgins; as the martyrs defeat their persecutors by their fortitude and faith, so the virgins conquer their concupiscence by their continence. Therefore they earn the special favour of God and at the same time become worthy of admiration in the eyes of their fellow-Christians for their excellent attainments.

Their title to glory is therefore their virginity, by which they anticipate the state of the Blessed in Heaven, who, according to

1) *Tert. spect.* 29,5 (C.Ch. I, 251,20-252,25).

2) *Pudic.* 1,15 (C.Ch. II, 1283,64-68); *virg. vel.* 2,3 (C.Ch. II, 1211,11-27).

3) *Cult. fem.* 2,3,3 (C.Ch. I, 356,21-357,25).

Luc. 20.35, 'neither are married nor take wives'. *Vos resurrectionis gloriam*, St. Cyprian says, *in isto saeculo iam tenetis, per saecula sine contagione transitis...; virginitas... iugiter perseveret nec monilium aut vestium quaerat ornamenta, sed morum*<sup>1)</sup>. They should not stain their glory by vanity or by frequenting *balneae* and *theatra*: *Sic flos virginum extinguatur, honor continentiae ac pudor caeditur, gloria omnis ac dignitas profanatur*<sup>2)</sup>. On the contrary, they should be a credit to the Church: *Floret ecclesia tot virginibus coronata et castitas ac pudicitia tenorem suae gloriae servat*<sup>3)</sup>.

Like Tertullian, St. Cyprian considers martyrdom the highest perfection of virginity. Although good morals do the virgins great honour, yet they only attain their supreme glory, if in their bodies they bear the marks of the wounds received for Christ's sake: *Illa sunt pretiosa monilia, illa corporis ornamenta meliora*<sup>4)</sup>.

Nevertheless it is only in Heaven that the *gloria virginum* really begins; only there does virginity receive full recognition: *Tantum mementote tunc nostri, cum incipiet in vobis virginitas honorari*<sup>5)</sup>. Similarly St. Cyprian also speaks of the *triumphantes virgines* in Heaven<sup>6)</sup>.

On a lower plane all Christians strive after glory, the *gloria virtutis*: *durus et arduus limes qui tendit ad gloriam. Per hunc viae limitem martyres pergunt, eunt virgines, iusti quoque gradiuntur*<sup>7)</sup>. The ordinary Christians may proceed along this road at a slower pace than the Christian heroes, yet they often have to fight fierce battles; this is sufficient cause for St. Cyprian to apply all the military and agonistic metaphors to the practice of virtue in general: *Habet et pax coronas suas... Libidinem subegisse continentiae palma est, contra iram, contra iniuriam repugnasse corona patientiae est. De avaritia triumphus est pecuniam spernere. Laus est fidei fiducia futurorum mundi adversa tolerare. Et qui superbus in prosperis non est, gloriam de humilitate consequitur... In hoc virtutum stadio cotidie currimus, ad has iustitiae palmas et coronas sine intermissione temporis pervenimus*<sup>8)</sup>. The terms *laus*, *trium-*

1) *Hab. virg.* 22 (CSEL 3,1, p. 203,13).

2) *Hab. virg.* 20 (CSEL 3,1, p. 201,19).

3) *Epist.* 55,20 (CSEL 3,2, p. 638,15).

4) *Hab. virg.* 6 (CSEL 3,1, p. 192,11).

5) *Hab. virg.* 24 (CSEL 3,1, p. 205,3).

6) *Mort.* 26 (CSEL 3,1, p. 313,27).

7) *Hab. virg.* 21 (CSEL 3,1, p. 202,11).

8) *Zel.* 6 (CSEL 3,1, p. 430,22-431,8).

*phus, corona, palma* clearly show that *gloria* is to be interpreted as fame or renown; this is very evident in *gloriam de humilitate*.

And so all Christians hope to be praised by the Lord at the Last Judgement for their good deeds and be rewarded glory according to the measure of their *virtus* and *facta*<sup>1)</sup>. Their glory will not be as great as that of the martyrs, but they will be content if their actions meet with divine approval, just as the widow was praised by Christ for offering her mite: *Quae illa erat, fratres carissimi, operantium gloria, quam grandis et summa laetitia, cum populum suum Dominus coeperit recensere*<sup>2)</sup>. Their reward is not a *corona purpurea* but a *corona candida*: *Omnes in agone iustitiae Deo et Christo spectante curramus...; nusquam Dominus meritis nostris ad praemium deerit, in pace vincentibus coronam candidam pro operibus dabit, in persecutione purpuream pro passione geminabit*<sup>3)</sup>.

*Quid magis sit vel utilius ad vitam vel maius ad gloriam quam patientia nec invenio*<sup>4)</sup>. This distinction affords us a good illustration of life in Antiquity; the dominating factor in normal life was usefulness. But besides that there was *gloria*, the one and only factor that could raise man to a higher plane, enable him to lift his life above the ordinary and bestow greatness, *magnitudo*, on him. To St. Cyprian this *gloria* is the ideal of life for all Christians; it is the glory which the Christian acquires through God's approval of his actions. Thus in St. Cyprian we find the Christian ideal of glory raised to a heroic level, although he also uses it in a wider, almost bourgeois, meaning. This is an unexpected combination in which we recognize St. Cyprian as the Roman orator who treats *gloria* with a classical flourish, and the pastor and bishop to whom every Christian is equally important.

Finally we should remember that people had a very concrete notion of *gloria*, as something belonging to certain persons or to certain personal deeds. This explains the frequent use of *gloria* in the plural<sup>5)</sup>.

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1) St. Cyprian often emphasizes the existence of degrees (*gradus*) in *gloria*, cf. *laps.* 3 (CSEL 3,1, p. 239,1); *epist.* 28,2 CSEL 3,2, p. 545,23); *epist.* 56,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 648,14); cf. HUMMEL 141.

2) *Eleem.* 26 (CSEL 3,1, p. 394,3); cf. *ib.* 15 (CSEL 3,1, p. 385,8), *Multum beata mulier et gloriosa, quae etiam ante diem iudicii meruit iudicis voce laudari.*

3) *Eleem.* 26 (CSEL 3,1, p. 394,20ff.).

4) *Patient.* 1 (CSEL 3,1, p. 397,10).

5) *Patient.* 20 (CSEL 3,1, p. 411,23); *epist.* 39,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 583,4).

3. **St. Ambrose.** — After 313 *gloria* is still a quality which distinguishes a person from the common people, or more specifically, the eminent Christian from less perfect fellow-Christians. To the virgins St. Ambrose assigns the *mortificatae corporalis illecebrae gloriam*<sup>1)</sup>, *laus pudicitiae*<sup>2)</sup>, *gloria integritatis*<sup>3)</sup>, *gloria castitatis*<sup>4)</sup> or *pudicitiae et integritatis caelestem gloriam*<sup>5)</sup>. Sometimes he also speaks of the *gloria viduitatis*<sup>6)</sup> and the *gloria sacerdotii*<sup>7)</sup>. Martyrdom is not the only title to *gloria*, as appears from his rhetorical question: *Quae maior est gloria quam pectoribus nationum cognitionem divinitatis infundere?*<sup>8)</sup> and from the following: *Est etiam omnis confusio bona, quam pro Christi nomine subeas, et admodum gloriosa...: haec utique confusio, etsi privilegium non habet, habet gloriam piae confessionis*<sup>9)</sup>. Here St. Ambrose introduces a new *gloria*, the *gloria confessionis*; this does not grant the privileges attached to the *gloria passionis* of the martyrs nor the renown of the ascetics. Generally speaking *gloria* is accorded to those who distinguish themselves by their ascetic achievement (whereby they conquer their weaknesses, *gloriosum virtus facit*)<sup>10)</sup> or by their public ecclesiastical duties, which apparently had partly developed into *honores*. The glory of those devout and prominent Christians implies honour and fame in Heaven: *quanto nobis gloriosius erit et iocundius ad meliores pergere et conversari cum his quorum facta miramur*<sup>11)</sup>.

*Gloria*, as we have seen, was also accorded to the Christian emperors<sup>12)</sup>. We have already dealt with the profane aspects of their glory. But when St. Ambrose in a letter to Gratian says: *Deus... regnum tuum in summa gloria et pace perpetua confirmare dignetur, domine Imperator Auguste, divino electe iudicio, principum gloriosissime*<sup>13)</sup>, his words are no mere profane formulas

1) *Obit. Valent.* 7.

2) *Epist.* 63,10 (PL 16,1192 A); cf. *inst. virg.* 17,104 (PL 16,331 A).

3) *Epist.* 63,10 (PL 16,1192 A).

4) *Spir.* 3,6,42 (PL 16,785 C).

5) *Inst. virg.* 17,113 (PL 16,333 A).

6) *Abr.* 2,6,31 (CSEL 32,1, p. 589,16).

7) *Sacr.* 1,27.

8) *In psalm.* 43,161 (CSEL 64, p. 27,3).

9) *In psalm.* 43,70,1 (CSEL 64, p. 312,5).

10) *In psalm.* 118 *serm.* 10,10,3 (CSEL 62, p. 209,6); cf. *off.* I, 36,179, *Non igitur in viribus corporis et lacertis tantummodo fortitudinis gloria est, sed magis in virtute animi.*

11) *Bon. mort.* 11,50 (CSEL 32,1, p. 747,2).

12) Cf. *epist.* 10,8 (PL 16,942 C), *Vestram gloriam deprecamur.*

13) *Epist.* 1,10 (PL 16,879 A).

due to imperial dignity. In a letter to Theodosius requesting him to protect the Church against the Jews and the Valentinians he says: *Malo enim te sine meo acceptum Deo esse et gloriosum periculo*<sup>1)</sup>. These words are to be interpreted as meaning 'pleasing and glorious in the eyes of God'. In *De obitu Theodosii* he says explicitly that the emperor's glory is principally in Heaven, *in quam festinavit intrare Theodosius atque ingredi civitatem Hierusalem de qua dictum est: et reges terrae (ferent) gloriam suam in illam (apoc. 21.24). Illa est vera gloria quae ibi sumitur*<sup>2)</sup>. In his funeral orations on Valentinian and Theodosius St. Ambrose speaks of their merits as the title to their glory. In this connexion he mentions their *fides* and their opposition to Symmachus and the Senate: *Recognoscitis nempe quos vobis Theodosii fides triumphos adquisi-verit*<sup>3)</sup>. According to him the *gloria imperii* consists in East and West being united in the Catholic Church<sup>4)</sup>. Seen in this light the glory of the Christian emperors depends chiefly upon the protection and assistance they give to the Church. This, according to St. Ambrose, is the principal duty of a Christian prince<sup>5)</sup>. Also their *clementia* and their promotion of peace are frequent the objects of praise, and should not be looked upon as merely profane virtues<sup>6)</sup>. St. Ambrose tries purposely to give a Christian reinterpretation of the traditional institutions, customs and terminology. Thus he wishes to attach more than a merely formulary signification to the titles of *Vestra Gloria* and *principum gloriosissime*; he finds a new Christian content for those titles in the virtues of *fides* and *clementia* understood in their Christian sense.

**4. St. Augustine.** — St. Augustine attributes glory in its Christian sense, not only to the martyrs, but also to the other categories of people. In his sermons he ascribes glory to all Christians who fight against their evil passions and the devil and emerge victorious from this battle. In his writings on monastic life and virginity he speaks of a *maior gloria*; this approaches closely the glory of the martyrs and to some extent is a continuation of it. Finally, he also mentions the *gloria episcopatus*, a more official form of glory; this acquires a universal character, especially when this official

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1) *Epist.* 40,3 (PL 16,1102 B).

2) *Obit. Theod.* 31.

3) *Obit. Theod.* 7; cf. *obit. Valent.* 46;52;53;79.

4) *Epist.* 14,1 (PL 16,953 C).

5) DUDDEN II, 539ff.

6) *Obit. Theod.* 5 and 12; cf. *epist.* 1,1 (PL 16,876 C).

dignity is combined with a creditable output of theological or apologetic writings; in this we have the Christian counterpart of profane literary fame.

With regard to glory as the ideal of every Christian it must be observed that St. Augustine also considers this species of glory as an extension of the glory of the martyrs; he emphasizes its unbloody character, *habet enim ecclesia quodammodo suos milites et quodammodo provinciales*<sup>1</sup>). In this respect he also looks upon martyrdom as a model of Christian perfection: *Nemo dicat: non possum martyr esse quia non est modo persecutio. Non cessant tentationes. Pugna et corona parata est... tentatur anima christiana et propitio deo vincit et facit magnam victoriam, nemine vidente, in corpore inclusa; pugnat corde, coronatur in corde, sed ab illo qui videt in corde*<sup>2</sup>). St. Augustine, to whom martyrdom was principally an affair of the soul and an inward struggle, also considers the life of a Christian as a spiritual struggle with oneself and the devil: *Hic ergo certamen est, haec vita deo spectanti theatrum est: hic pugna, hic conflictus cum omnibus vitiis et maxime cum principe vitiorum tamquam cum Golia*<sup>3</sup>). And as the glory of the martyr is based upon his victory, so also victory is the basis of the glory of every Christian: *victoria de cupiditatibus inimicis et gloria et honor et pax in aeternum non dantur nisi bonis*<sup>4</sup>).

As regards the glory of the ascetics and the virgins it is not merely a question of combat and victory, but rather a matter of extraordinary achievements, by which they distinguished themselves from the common mass of Christians. They strove after a *maioris gloriae palmam*<sup>5</sup>), for *illi ad eam (i.e. continentiam) conscenderunt causa maioris gloriae, ut amplius quid invenirent*<sup>6</sup>). Their special attainments and the glory resulting from them will distinguish them for all eternity: *est quaedam egregia gloria non omnibus in aeternum victuris, sed quibusdam ibi tribuenda, cui consequendae parum est liberatum esse a peccatis, nisi aliquid ipsi liberatori voveatur, quod non sit criminis non vovisse, sed vovisse ac reddidisse*

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1) *Epist.* 157,4,37 (CSEL 44, p. 484,14-15).

2) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 51 (1939), p. 19,140-146.

3) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 59 (1949), p. 70,7-10.

4) *Epist.* 220,11 (CSEL 57, p. 439,23).

5) *Virg.* 18,18 (CSEL 41, p. 251,23); 21,21 (CSEL 41, p. 254,25).

6) *Adult. coniug.* 19,20 (CSEL 41, p. 407,21); cf. *virg.* 14,14 (CSEL 41, p. 247,2), *adipiscendae illi gloriae, quae non erit omnium quamvis in aeterna vita ac salute manentium...*

sit laudis . . . <sup>1)</sup>). In many respects they are the equals of the martyrs, and with them form a class distinct from the common mass of Christians: *Quibus autem non provenit corona martyrii neque illius perfectionis de vendendis rebus suis consilium tam praeclarum et tam grande receperunt et tamen a damnabilibus immunes criminibus esurientem Christum paverunt, sitienti potum dederunt, nudum vestierunt, peregrinantem susceperunt, non sedebunt quidem cum Christo sublimiter iudicaturi, sed ad ipsius dexteram stabunt misericorditer iudicandi* <sup>2)</sup>).

Finally, those who devote themselves to preaching and to the guidance of Christians occupy a special place in the Church. They, too, are distinguished from the masses by the *gloria praedicationis* <sup>3)</sup> and the *gloria episcopatus* <sup>4)</sup>. St. Augustine himself endeavours to earn glory with God through his episcopate and he is not indifferent as to how he is judged by his fellow-Christians, as appears from his sermon *De proprio Natali*, where in connexion with his advancing years he says: *Ideo maior est sarcina, sed bene portata maiorem comparat gloriam* <sup>5)</sup>, and further on continues: *Ille autem novit, sub cuius oculis loquor, imo sub cuius oculis cogito, non me tam delectari laudibus popularibus, quam stimulari et angī, quomodo vivant qui me laudant. Laudari autem a male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor, dolori mihi est, non voluptati: laudari autem a bene viventibus, si dicam nolo, mentior, si dicam volo, timeo ne sim inanitatis appetentior quam soliditatis. Ergo quid dicam? Nec plene volo, nec plene nolo* <sup>6)</sup>. Among the great bishops he often ranks St. Cyprian <sup>7)</sup>, St. John Chrysostom (*Constantinopolitanum excellentis gloriae sacerdotem*) <sup>8)</sup> and Olympius (*Hispanus episcopus, vir magnae in ecclesia et in Christo gloriae*) <sup>9)</sup>. Many of those bishops gained by their writings *fama celeberrima* and *gloria ingens* <sup>10)</sup>. As examples he singles out St. Cyprian and St. Hilary: *Hunc virum tanta in episcopis catholicis laude praeclarum, tanta notitia famaeque conspicuum, de peccato originali aude,*

1) *Virg.* 14,14 (CSEL 41, p. 246,24).

2) *Epist.* 157,4,36 (CSEL 44, p. 483,8-15); cf. *virg.* 25,25 (CSEL 41, p. 261,19).

3) *In psalm.* 54,22 (PL 36,508).

4) *c. Iul.* 3,17,32 (PL 44,719).

5) *Serm. M. Frangipane* 2,1.

6) *Serm. M. Frangipane* 2,1.

7) *Epist.* 215,3 (CSEL 57, p. 390,9); *c. Iul.* 2,8,25 (PL 44,691).

8) *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 6,7 (PL 45,1513).

9) *c. Iul.* 1,3,8 (PL 44,645).

10) *c. Iul.* 2,1,1 (PL 44,671); *c. Pelag.* 4,8,20 (CSEL 60, p. 542,23).

*si quid tibi frontis est, criminari*<sup>1)</sup>). He also mentions Irenaeus, Basil, Ambrose, John, Innocence and Jerome<sup>2)</sup>). They waged, he says, a fierce battle against paganism. In the beginning this was a struggle of faith against brute force; later the Church used as her weapon the *Eloquentia* to destroy the Goliath of paganism: *Iacuit omnis superstitio gentium... martyrium coronabatur. Deinde proficiente ecclesia... multi servi dei et ipsam eloquentiam didicerunt, ut de suo gladio Goliath interficeretur. Quam eloquens s. Cyprianus, quam fulgens framea eius in litteris eius apparuit.* According to St. Augustine his own vocation lies in such literary activity: *De ipsa eloquentia cotidie cum Golia pugnamus, utinam nobis contingat illo interfecto triumphare*<sup>3)</sup>).

We may look upon this glory of the Christian writers and theologians as a continuation of the profane literary fame of the classics. There is, however, this difference: with the profane authors the emphasis lies on qualities of style and form whereas the principal concern of the Christian writers is the subject-matter. *Eloquentia* is only appreciated as a sword to slay paganism. Profane literary fame tends to snobbism, Christian literary glory aims rather at usefulness.

**5. St. Leo the Great.** — According to St. Leo glory is not only won by blood as in the case of the martyrs, but also by self-conquest: *universitas Deo servientium Deoque viventium, sicut in Christo coronanda: illis quidem in omni gloria praecellentibus, qui terribiles mortes et saeva tormenta usque ad exhalationem spiritus tolerando superaverunt, sed etiam iis subsequentibus qui avaritiae cupiditatem, superbiae elationem, desideriaque luxuriae, carnis suae mortificatione vicerunt*<sup>4)</sup>).

Among the cities it is Rome in particular that enjoys eternal glory, even though it is no longer the centre of the imperial government: *Habeat, sicut optamus, Constantinopolitana civitas gloriam suam*<sup>5)</sup>). Rome enjoys a different glory, which is greater and more universal, and which she owes to the preaching of St. Peter and Paul, as St. Leo says to his congregation: *Isti sunt qui te ad hanc gloriam provexerunt, ut gens sancta, populus electus, civitas sacerdotalis et regia, per sacram beati Petri sedem caput*

1) *c. Iul.* 1,3,9 (PL 44,645).

2) *c. Iul.* 2,10,37 (PL 44,702).

3) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 59 (1949), p. 70ff.

4) *Leo serm.* 69,5 (PL 54,379 B).

5) *Epist.* 104,3 (PL 54,995 A).



*orbis effecta, latius praesideres religione divina quam dominatione terrena*<sup>1)</sup>. This text reveals again how profoundly the classical past of Rome still influenced the world of thought of those Roman Christians, and how at the same time they transposed this classical inheritance into a Christian sphere.

The same can be said of the glory accorded to the emperor; when applied to him *gloria* and *gloriosus* acquire increasingly a formulary and titular character<sup>2)</sup>. Still, repeatedly St. Leo points out the real content of the *gloria imperatoris*. This glory the emperor must earn in fighting not only the barbarians but especially the enemies of the Christian Religion: *Quid tam gloriosum quam contra inimicos natiuitatis et crucis Christi pro fide evangelica dimicare?*<sup>3)</sup>. In another letter to the emperor he says: *Magnum ergo vobis est ut diademati vestro de manu Domini etiam fidei addatur corona, et de hostibus Ecclesiae triumphetis: quia si laudabile vobis est diversarum gentium arma conterere, quanta erit gloria, ab insanissimo tyranno Alexandrinam ecclesiam, in cuius contritione omnium Christianorum est iniuria, liberare?*<sup>4)</sup>. One of the principal duties of the emperor, he says, is the suppression of schisms and heresies: *Religiosa clementissimi principis fides sciens ad suam gloriam maxime pertinere, si intra Ecclesiam catholicam nullius erroris germen exsurgeret...*<sup>5)</sup>. Thus the ideal of the *Pax Romana* is changed into that of the *Pax Christiana*, which implies the unity and integrity of the Catholic Religion: *ut per universum regnum vestrum catholicae fidei integritate servata, et pacem christianam permanere, et vestram apud deum crescere gloriam gaudeamus*<sup>6)</sup>. In this quotation emphasis is laid once more on the fact that the glory of the emperor is a *gloria apud deum*.

## 6. 'Gloriosissimus' as a title.

In this connexion we still have to turn our attention to the use of *gloriosissimus* as a title. In an inaugural address TH. KLAUSER<sup>7)</sup> has tried to show that since 313 A.D. already the bishops, especially

1) *Serm.* 82,1 (PL 54,422 D); 82,4 (PL 54,424 B); *epist.* 61,1 (PL 54,675 A).

2) Cf. *epist.* 141 (PL 54,1110 B); *epist.* 70 (PL 54,893 A); 79,2 (PL 54,911 B).

3) *Epist.* 38 (PL 54,813 A); cf. *epist.* 140 (PL 54,1109 C).

4) *Epist.* 156,5 (PL 54,1131 B).

5) *Epist.* 33,1 (PL 54,797 A).

6) *Epist.* 54 (PL 54,856 B).

7) TH. KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrechte*, Bonner Akad. Reden 1.

those of Rome, held high ranks among the imperial nobles. He proves it first for the year 442 A.D. Then he tries to ascertain it also for the fourth century. From the fact that St. Athanasius of Alexandria and Pope Sylvester were addressed as *gloriosissimus* he concludes that in 314 A.D. the bishop of Rome already belonged to that nobility, and that the other bishops were raised to that rank soon after <sup>1</sup>). On this ground he then bases his thesis proper, to wit, that the episcopal marks of honour were not introduced on the analogy of the profane insignia, but that they were originally worn by the bishops as profane insignia and only subsequently lost their profane character <sup>2</sup>).

The manner in which KLAUSER argues back from 442 to 314 A.D. somewhat arouses our suspicion. We leave open the question whether in 392 A.D. the bishops could bear high titles of nobility, as KLAUSER maintains, and whether this was true of the bishop of Rome as early as 370 A.D. We have our doubts about it, but we do not intend to oppose it now. What we wish to discuss is the period from 313 to 370 A.D., which period is the most important for KLAUSER's proposition. He cites two texts belonging to this period, one is a letter from the year 355 A.D. addressed to St. Athanasius of Alexandria *Domino fratri gloriosissimo ac beatissimo Athanasio episcopo*, the other a document directed by the Synod of Arles to the Pope, in which Pope Sylvester is addressed as *gloriosissime Papa* <sup>3</sup>). KLAUSER does not go beyond 313 A.D., for prior to 313 A.D. the bishops could hardly be titled persons. Accordingly KLAUSER dismisses *beatissime ac gloriosissime papa* with which St. Cyprian is addressed as informal: 'es kann sich nur um eine unoffizielle Anrede handeln' <sup>4</sup>).

Here KLAUSER admits that *gloriosissime* need not always have the same meaning. But he simply supposes that this word, when applied to Pope Sylvester and St. Athanasius, has the same meaning as when it was used as a title of court functionaries.

With reference to this we should like to remark that in Christian Latin the title *gloriosissime* has a Christian meaning of its own.

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<sup>1</sup>) KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung*, p. 13; cf. *gloriosissimo ... Athanasio*, PL 8, 1416 C; *gloriosissime papa*, F. MAASSEN, *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts*, I, Gratz 1870, p. 950.

<sup>2</sup>) KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung*, 15-16.

<sup>3</sup>) KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung*, 13 n. 13; cf. PL 8, 1416 C.

<sup>4</sup>) KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung*, 13 n. 15; cf. *Cypr. epist.* 30,8 (CSEL 3,2, p. 556, 15-16).

We are dealing here with the titles *beatissime ac gloriosissime papa* with which Novatianus addresses St. Cyprian, *gloriosissime papa*, used by the Synod of Arles in addressing Pope Sylvester, and *Domino fratri gloriosissimo ac beatissimo Athanasio episcopo*, in a letter to St. Athanasius. Now what exactly is the value of those titles? Is the signification which KLAUSER attaches to those titles possible?

From what has been said before about the Christian idea of renown it follows that in the eyes of the Christians the martyrs and confessors were the real heroes and nobles. Those martyrs did not only possess 'glory' in the eyes of God, but were also greatly honoured in the Church: *Nec decebat sine honore ecclesiastico esse quem sic Deus honoravit caelestis gloriae dignitate*, says St. Cyprian himself<sup>1</sup>). This prominent and privileged position of the martyr in the Church manifested itself in various ways, i.e. in special privileges and also in certain titles. Thus *dominus* is the regular title of a martyr<sup>2</sup>). *Gloriosus* or *gloriosissimus* too, if not a title, is, in any case, a regular epitheton of the martyr. It is difficult to deny that in course of time this usage gave these words a formulary and even titular character. Hence for the period after 250 A.D. we may take it as an established fact that such words as *gloriosus*, *gloriosissimus* and *inlustris* were accepted titles of martyrs and confessors. The same holds good for the words *beatus* and *beatissimus* and for the expression *beatissimus ac gloriosissimus*. Already in Tertullian we find the expression *beatissima ac gloriosissima* applied to the body of a martyr<sup>3</sup>). The expression is very frequent in St. Cyprian's letters<sup>4</sup>). In St. Augustine this usage is still the same: he styles St. Stephan, St. Cyprian and St. Lawrence as *gloriosissimus ac beatissimus*<sup>5</sup>).

It is beyond controversy therefore that in Christian usage of the third and fourth centuries *gloriosissimus* and *beatissimus* were standing titles of martyrs and confessors. But now the question is: were they also used as titles of bishops?

1) Cypr. *epist.* 39,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 582,7-8).

2) Cf. *supra* p. 70.

3) Tert. *resurr.* 8,6 (C.Ch. II, 932,28).

4) Cypr. *epist.* 6,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 484,13); 10,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 490,1); 10,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 495,7); 15,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 513,8); 28,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 547,8); *passim*.

5) Aug. *c. Iul.* 2,8,25 (PL 44,691); *c. Pelag.* 4,8,24 (CSEL 60, p. 548,25); 4,10,27 (CSEL 60, p. 554,5); 4,12,32 (CSEL 60, p. 568,12); *civ.* 12,8; *serm.* 304,5,4 (PL 38,1397).

There are, indeed, several texts which speak of the *gloria sacerdotii*<sup>1)</sup> and the *gloria episcopatus*<sup>2)</sup>. But nowhere can we establish that *gloriosissimus* is an episcopal title, except in the above-mentioned texts referring to St. Cyprian, Pope Sylvester and St. Athanasius. A remarkable fact is that St. Cyprian and St. Athanasius have been both in exile, and, according to legend, Pope Sylvester too. When in 250 A.D. St. Cyprian was addressed by Novatianus as *beatissime et gloriosissime papa*, he lived in exile outside Carthage. He then possessed the *gloria exilii*, for exile was considered as a form of *confessio* and *martyrium*<sup>3)</sup>. And in the year 355 A.D. St. Athanasius had been in exile for a considerable time then because of the orthodoxy of his faith<sup>4)</sup>. Potamius, the author of the letter, describes St. Athanasius already in the opening lines of the letter as the champion of orthodoxy: *corruptas adulterio mentes ambiguas, maledicti pecoris libidinoso commercia veneno damnabiliter sarcinata, unius fidei rumphaea feriente vicisti*<sup>5)</sup>. As regards Pope Sylvester the matter is a little more complicated. The story of his exile on Mount Soracte, narrated in the *Liber Pontificalis*, must be considered a legend<sup>6)</sup>. Still it is quite natural that the man, who just after the large scale persecutions of Diocletian and Maxentius was elected pope, should be chosen, precisely because he had shown himself to be an undaunted confessor in those persecutions. This rather hypothetical explanation of *gloriosissime* in the letter of the Synod of Arles is certainly more probable than KLAUSER's solution. For supposing that in 314 A.D. Constantine had immediately raised Pope Sylvester to the imperial nobility, it still remains unlikely that the Synod of Arles in addressing the bishop of Rome should use a profane title of nobility, and that just after the Edict of Toleration. And if *gloriosissimus* were the general title of bishops in the fourth century, how then is it to be explained that we do not meet with this title more often, especially in the correspondence of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Leo the Great! Our conclusion is that St. Cyprian, Pope Sylvester and St. Athanasius were given the title of *gloriosissimus* and *beatissimus*

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1) Aug. c. *Iul. op. imperf.* 6,7 (PL 45,1513).

2) Aug. c. *Iul.* 3,17,32 (PL 44,719).

3) HUMMEL 20ff.

4) A. FIGANIOL, *L'Empire Chrétien (325-395)*, Histoire Romaine t. IV, 2ème partie, p. 14.

5) PL 8,1417 A.

6) D.T.C. s.v. Silvestre.

not as bishops or members of the imperial nobility, but as martyrs for the faith and orthodoxy. Likewise the title of *confessor* is sometimes applied to bishops who had suffered for the cause of orthodoxy<sup>1)</sup>.

That St. Cyprian noticed a striking analogy between this Christian *nobilitas* and the imperial nobility, appears from *Epistula* 39,3 (CSEL 3,2, p. 583, 3-17), in which he speaks about Celerinus. The latter was raised by St. Cyprian, it says, to the clerical order because of the many tortures he had gloriously endured. *Nec rudis iste aut novus est in Celerino carissimo nostro titulus gloriarum. Per vestigia cognationis suae graditur, parentibus ac propinquis suis honore consimili divinae dignationis aequatur. Avia eius Celerina iam pridem martyrio coronata est. Item patruus eius et avunculus Laurentinus et Egnatius... coronas inlustri passione meruerunt. ...Nec degener ergo esse nec minor poterat quem sic domesticis exemplis virtutis ac fidei provocabat familiae dignitas et generosa nobilitas. Quod si in familia saeculari praedicationis et laudis est esse patricium, quanto maioris laudis et honoris est fieri in caelesti praedicatione generosum.* From this text and from what has been stated above it follows that the Christians consciously and deliberately granted titles and privileges to their heroes on the analogy of the titles and privileges of the secular nobility. And now we have arrived at a conclusion which is diametrically opposed to KLAUSER's opinion. The general statement which KLAUSER tries to prove in the first part of his speech, is, in our opinion, not correct. This, however, does not necessarily imply that his thesis regarding the origin of the episcopal insignia is incorrect. We do not want to pass a verdict on the correctness of this proposition.

## E. GLORIA DEI

**1. Tertullian.** Tertullian has drawn a sharp line of demarcation between Christianity and anthropocentric paganism, unrelentingly he stresses the contrast everywhere, especially where the supremacy, honour and glory of the one true God are concerned. To Tertullian the *gloria Dei* is the centre of the universe: *Gloriae suae causa molitus est mundum*<sup>2)</sup>. Here the idea of *gloria* is the honour of God. It is not the specifically biblical *gloria*; there is a Christian

1) B. BOTTE, *Confessor*, ALMA, 16(1941), p. 137ff.

2) *Adv. Hermog.* 9,4 (CChr. I, 405,16).

innovation, since *gloria* is attributed to God as something pre-eminently belonging to Him. In profane Latin *gloria* is primarily attributed to men, and only in later times to the gods, though only very rarely; Ovid was the first to use it of the gods<sup>1)</sup>.

In trying to define the *gloria Dei* in Tertullian more clearly, we see that according to him the attitude of man towards God's greatness should be a *relatio gloriae*<sup>2)</sup>, which shows itself in word and deed, and is sealed by martyrdom<sup>3)</sup>. Thus Tertullian always connects God's honour and glory with the blood and the victory of the martyrs: *Totum quod agitur in persecutione, gloria Dei est*<sup>4)</sup>.

The *gloria Dei*, however, is not only connected with the struggle of martyrs, but also with Christ's victory over death. To Tertullian *gloria resurrectionis* means the glory of His victory over death, as is clear from these words, *post resurrectionem et devictae mortis gloriam*<sup>5)</sup>. Still greater His triumph and glory will be, when He will come again on the clouds in the *secundi adventus gloria et honore*; this second coming is contrasted with the first *adventus Christi in ignominia* of which he also says: *et data est ei potestas regia, et omnes nationes terrae secundum genera, et omnis gloria famulabunda. Et potestas eius usque in aevum... Christus Iesus, duplici habitu in duos adventus deliniatur, primo sordidis indutus..., dehinc despoliatus pristinas sordes et exornatus podere et mitra et cidari munda, id est secundi adventus gloria et honore*<sup>6)</sup>.

To Tertullian the glory of Christ does not consist primarily in His might and majesty, but in the service and homage rendered by man. In this connexion we may compare the following passage written in strong rhetorical language: *Quale autem spectaculum in proximo est adventus Domini iam indubitati, iam superbi, iam triumphantis! Quae illa exultatio angelorum, quae gloria resurgentium sanctorum*<sup>7)</sup>.

**2. St. Cyprian.** St. Cyprian continually points out that all things are conducive to God's honour, and that notably the *gloria martyrum* redounds to the *gloria Dei*, as the martyrs are His soldiers and He wages combat through them: *Si vos acies vocaverit, si*

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1) *Ov. met.* 1,465; cf. KNOCHE, *Philologus* 1934, p. 107.

2) *Adv. Marc.* 3,22,6 (C.Christ. I, 539,17); 4,18,3 (C.Christ. I, 589,2).

3) *Fug.* 12,8 (C.Christ. II, 1152,90-92); 1,5 (C.Christ. II, 1136,42-43).

4) *Fug.* 1,5 (C.Christ. II, 1136,42).

5) *Adv. Prax.* 25,2 (C.Christ. II, 1195,18).

6) *Adv. Marc.* 3,7,4 (C.Christ. I, 517,2-5); 3,7,7 (C.Christ. I, 517,24-26).

7) *Spect.* 30,1 (C.Christ. I, 252,1-4).

*certaminis vestri dies venerit, militate fortiter, dimiccate constanter, scientes sub oculis praesentis Domini dimicare, confessione nominis eius ad ipsius gloriam pervenire, qui non sic est ut servos suos tantum spectet, sed ipse luctatur in nobis, ipse congregatur, ipse in certamine agonis nostri et coronat pariter et coronatur*<sup>1)</sup>).

Here St. Cyprian asserts that by confessing the Name of God the martyr will also attain to the *gloria Dei*. Since the *gloria martyrum* has to be understood in the sense of renown, it stands to reason that the *gloria Dei* in which the martyr is to share, must be taken in the same sense; especially since St. Cyprian adds that in the *martyrium* Christ Himself joins in the combat of the martyrs, crowns them and is crowned Himself also. St. Cyprian therefore refers here to the *gloria Christi* precisely in so far as it concerns the 'agon' of the *martyrium*; and here, too, *gloria* probably has the primary meaning of renown.

3. **St. Ambrose.** St. Ambrose strongly emphasizes the fact that the *gloria Christi* is closely connected with the victories He has won in His own Passion (*crucis gloria*)<sup>2)</sup> and in the *passiones* of His followers: *Deus operibus suis et gloria et honore sui tempus coronavit adventus; totus enim ille annus conversationis eius in hoc mundo diversarum habuit certamina passionum. Vicit Herodem parvulus, de quo in passione infantium triumphavit. Esurivit, sitivit, pro nobis vapulavit, pro nobis contumeliarum indigna toleravit, crucem ascendit, mortuus est pro nobis*<sup>3)</sup>. The connexion between the *gloria Christi* and the Passion is still very close in St. Ambrose. Although all devout Christians are sometimes, to him, the *coeli qui enarrant gloriam Dei*<sup>4)</sup>, he applies this text in particular to the martyrs, notably to St. Gervasius and Protasius<sup>5)</sup>, of whom he says in another sermon: *reseratis oculis gloriam Domini speculamur, quae est martyrum passione praeterita, et operatione praesens*<sup>6)</sup>.

From this text it is clear that the *gloria Christi* is not limited to the Cross and to the sufferings of the martyrs, but is also furthered by the miracles of the martyrs. And St. Ambrose goes still further, he refers to the expansion of the Church and the actual subjection

1) *Epist.* 10,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 494,11).

2) *Tob.* 20,74 (CSEL 32,2, p. 563,11).

3) *Inst. virg.* 15,96 (PL 16,328 B); cf. *fid.* 4,1,6 (PL 16,618 C).

4) *In psalm.* 118 *serm.* 12,12,2 (CSEL 62, p. 257,25).

5) *Epist.* 22,4 (PL 16,1021 A).

6) *Epist.* 22,11 (PL 16,1023 A).

of all men to Christ: *Gloria autem Christi maxima, ut se universorum hominum pectoribus infundat et omnes revocet ab impietate perfidiae et gentilitatis affectu, ut sibi faciat esse subiectos*<sup>1)</sup>. And so, just as the glory of the martyrs, the *gloria Christi* also acquires an additional extrinsic aspect after 313 A.D.

4. **St. Augustine.** St. Augustine expresses much the same ideas as St. Ambrose, only they are more elaborated. With regard to the *gloria Christi* being connected with His victory on the Cross the following texts may serve as an illustration: *In cruce de principibus et potestatibus triumphavit*<sup>2)</sup>. *Morte sua diabolus vicit*<sup>3)</sup>. *Magna virtute victus est: ubi victus est, ibi nobis vicit. Quid est, ubi victus est, ibi nobis vicit? Quia unde passus est, sanguinem fudit quo nos redemit*<sup>4)</sup>. *Exultavit diabolus, quando mortuus est Christus, et in ipsa morte Christi est diabolus victus*<sup>5)</sup>. *Muscipula diaboli, crux Domini*<sup>6)</sup>. But this victory is completed only by the resurrection: *Facta est ergo vera victoria domini nostri Iesu Christi, cum resurrexit et ascendit in caelum*<sup>7)</sup>.

Also in the martyrs Christ overcomes the devil, who *vidit enim se victum fama et laudibus Christi, vidit in eo quod occidit martyres Christi, illos coronatos et se triumphatum*<sup>8)</sup>. Therefore in all his sermons on the martyrs St. Augustine brings in the *gloria Christi*: *In his omnibus ille agnoscendus, ille glorificandus, ille laudandus est, qui et in prima vocatione dedit finem, et in suprema passione virtutem*<sup>9)</sup>. Another sermon begins thus: *Quoniam solemnitas dies martyrum illuxit; propter gloriam passionis Christi Imperatoris martyrum, qui sibi non pepercit militibus imperans pugnam, sed prior pugnavit, ut pugnantes exemplo suo hortaretur et maiestate sua adjuvaret et permissione coronaret, audiamus aliquid in isto psalmo*<sup>10)</sup>. Sometimes he bases his views on more theological grounds: *Cum Deus coronat merita nostra, nihil aliud coronat quam munera sua*<sup>11)</sup>. He expresses his line of thought very concisely

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1) *In psalm.* 36,22,3 (CSEL 64, p. 81,26ff.).

2) *Aug. in psalm.* 150,1 (PL 37,1963).

3) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 16,1.

4) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 10,2.

5) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 21,2.

6) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 21,2.

7) *Serm. M. Guelferb.* 21,2.

8) *In psalm.* 40,4 (PL 36,456).

9) *Serm.* 276,1,1 (PL 38,1256); *in psalm.* 30 *enarr.* 2 *serm.* 1,6 (PL 36,233-234).

10) *In psalm.* 40,1 (PL 36,452).

11) *Epist.* 194,5,19 (CSEL 57, p. 190,14); *in psalm.* 98,8 (PL 37,1264).



in the following brief sentence: *Ubique Christus beatorum martyrum gloria est*<sup>1)</sup>.

*Gloria Dei* considered in this way really belongs to the period before 313 A.D. and has a historical character. St. Augustine, however, also sees the glory of Christ as the glory of the Lord of the Universe. In his days, when large crowds enter the Church, he cannot confine himself to the victories gained by Christ in the individual cases of martyrdom; he stresses more the general and definite character of Christ's victories together with the universality of His glory. It is remarkable that he often does so in connexion with Scriptural texts, as for instance in his commentary on the gospel of St. John: *Verbum quippe Graecum δοξάσει, alius clarificabit, alius glorificabit, latini interpretes in sua quisque translatione posuerunt; quoniam ipsa quae graece dicitur δόξα unde dictum est verbum δοξάσει, et claritas interpretatur et gloria. Gloria namque fit quisque clarus, et claritate gloriosus; ac per hoc quod utroque verbo significatur, idipsum est. Sicut autem definierunt antiqui latinae linguae clarissimi auctores, gloria est frequens de aliquo fama cum laude. Quae... est in hoc mundo facta de Christo...<sup>2)</sup>. Annuntiaverunt hominibus Christum; ac sic fama eius diffusa est toto orbe terrarum<sup>3)</sup>. Fama illa quae coepit a minimo, et iam tenet orbem terrarum<sup>4)</sup>.*

St. Augustine delights in describing the Church in her transition from suppression to liberty and prosperity. In this connexion he compares Christ to Joseph in Egypt: *meministis, nostis Joseph in Aegyptum venditum: Christus ad gentes transiens. Ibi Joseph post tribulationes exaltatus, et hic Christus post passiones martyrum glorificatus*<sup>5)</sup>. Those words show that now we have arrived at an entirely new acceptance of the term; whereas, elsewhere, Christ is often said to gain His glory in the combats of the martyrs, here St. Augustine emphasizes the *glorificatio* of Christ after the time of the martyrs. Here it is not a question of an isolated instance, as appears from the following texts: *Crevit Ecclesia, crediderunt gentes, victi sunt terrae principes sub nomine Christi, ut essent*

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1) In psalm. 117,12 (PL 39,1498).

2) In Evang. Ioh. 100,16,1 (PL 35,1891); cf. 82,15,1 (PL 35,1842-1843); 100,16,2 (PL 35,1892).

3) In evang. Ioh. 100,16,1 (PL 35,1890-1891).

4) Serm. 380,6,6 (PL 39,1680).

5) In psalm. 80,8 (PL 37,1037).

*victores in orbe terrarum*<sup>1)</sup>. Nunc ergo iam Christo in coelo sedente, iam glorificato, iam subiectis cervicibus regum iugo eius, et suppositis frontibus signo eius; iam nullo remanente qui palam Christianis audeat insultare<sup>2)</sup>. Crediderunt et reges, qui primo persequendo martyres fecerant<sup>3)</sup>.

In the above texts St. Augustine points out especially the political victory of Christ. Still more frequently he describes the spiritual victory of Christ, which consists in large crowds of pagans entering the Church: *Unde gloria eius super omnem terram nisi quia Ecclesia eius per omnem terram?*<sup>4)</sup>. *Quare iam confunduntur omnes qui adorant sculptilia? Quia viderunt omnes populi gloriam eius. Iam omnes populi gloriam Christi confitentur: erubescant qui adorant lapides... lapis autem noster vivus est, et semper vivit apud Patrem, et pro nobis mortuus revixit, et modo vivit, et mors ei ultra non dominabitur* (Rom. 6.9). *Hanc gloriam ipsius cognoverunt populi; dimittunt templa, currunt ad ecclesias*<sup>5)</sup>. Even the higher and wealthier classes of society acknowledge Christ, *fama celsitudinis eius et gloria nominis eius in ecclesia usquequaque diffusa permoti*<sup>6)</sup>. *Ex occulto enim processit ad notitiam: notus est Christus, ubique praedicatur Christus; gloriam Christi omnia quaecumque sunt sub coelo clamant*<sup>7)</sup>. Even the heathen cannot but recognize the victory of Christ: *Potuit dicere in corde suo victos in se esse deos suos, desertum se esse a diis suis, tantum posse nomen Christi, tantum praevalere gloria Christi*<sup>8)</sup>. *Sciatis, fratres, prope iam neminem esse paganorum, qui non apud seipsum miretur et sentiat impleri prophetias de Christo exaltato super caelos, quia vident super omnem terram gloriam eius*<sup>9)</sup>. In this connexion St. Augustine usually avails himself of such Scriptural texts as: *super omnem terram gloria tua*<sup>10)</sup> and *in lata gente gloria regis*<sup>11)</sup>. But if occasion demands, he interprets every possible quotation from the Scriptures in which the word *gloria* or *claritas*

1) *Serm.* 44,1,2 (PL 38,258).

2) *In psalm.* 69,2 (PL 36,866).

3) *Serm.* M. Denis 24,9.

4) *Un. eccl.* 8,21 (CSEL 52, p. 255,14).

5) *In psalm.* 96,11 (PL 37,1244).

6) *Epist.* 140,27,66 (CSEL 44, p. 213,20).

7) *Serm.* 87,7,9 (PL 36,534).

8) *Serm.* M. Morin 1,1; cf. *serm. fragm.* (PL 39,1730).

9) *Serm.* 279,7 (PL 38,1278). — In these texts *gloria Christi* conveys more than only the aspect of renown, cf. p. 191ff.

10) *Psalm.* 56,6; cf. *psalm.* 107,6.

11) *Prov.* 14,28.

occurs in this sense or even forces this meaning upon it<sup>1</sup>). Such interpretations are usually directed against the Donatists or other Western heretical sects; they are intended to stress their sectarian character against the universality of Christ's greatness and the catholicity of the Church<sup>2</sup>). And so, he says, the Church goes forward in spite of persecution and opposition, amid unbelief and heresy; but on the day of the final victory she will be granted, *ut quam fortem adversarium Dei civitas superaverit, cum ingenti gloria sui redemptoris adiutoris liberatoris aspiciat*<sup>3</sup>).

5. Leo the Great. Particularly marked in the writings of St. Leo the Great is his frequent mention of the *gloria crucis Christi*<sup>4</sup>). In flowing periods he describes the Cross at one time as a scepter and at another as a tribunal or a trophy, and always uses metaphors expressing Christ's victory, His glory and His greatness. *O admirabilis potentia crucis! o ineffabilis gloria Passionis! in qua et tribunal Domini, et iudicium mundi, et potestas est crucifixi*<sup>5</sup>). Christ allowed Himself to be taken prisoner and crucified *ne dilato glorioso crucis triumpho et dominatio diabolica fieret longior, et captivitas humana diuturnior*<sup>6</sup>). *Cum ergo Dominus lignum portaret crucis, quod in sceptrum sibi converteret potestatis, erat quidem hoc apud impiorum oculos grande ludibrium, sed manifestabatur fidelibus grande mysterium: quia gloriosissimus diaboli victor, et inimicarum virtutum potentissimus debellator, pulchra specie triumphi sui portabat trophaeum...*<sup>7</sup>).

Also the view that Christ acquires glory in His martyrs is found in St. Leo: *Atque ita per universum mundum clarificavit gloriam suam, ut a solis ortu usque ad occasum, leviticorum luminum coruscante fulgore, quam clarificata est Jerosolyma Stephano, tam illustris fieret Roma Laurentio*<sup>8</sup>).

1) Cf. *in evang. Ioh.* 106,17,1 (PL 35,1908); 100,16,1 (PL 35,1890-1891).

2) *In evang. Ioh.* 100,16,3 (PL 35,1892), *Sed non est vera eius apud haereticos gloria, apud quos tamen frequentem famam videtur habere cum laude. Non est haec vera gloria, quia in utroque falluntur: nam et bonum putant esse quod bonum non est, et Christum putant esse quod Christus non est; cf. c. Petil. 2,84,187 (CSEL 52, p. 116,29-117,7); c. Parm. 19,38 (CSEL 51, p. 93,26); Quomodo ista sentientes clarificant Dominum, cum scriptum sit: in latitudine gentis gloria regis...*

3) *Civ.* 20,8.

4) *Serm.* 69,2 (PL 54,376 C).

5) *Serm.* 59,7 (PL 54,341 A).

6) *Serm.* 52,4 (PL 54,316 A).

7) *Serm.* 59,4 (PL 54,339 C).

8) *Serm.* 85,4 (PL 54,437 A).

In so far as we have now examined the idea of glory in its Christian sense, it may be described as follows: it is the glory of Christ, Who has overcome death and the devil by His Cross and Resurrection, and this victory is continued in the warfare and triumphs of His followers. They are first of all the martyrs and the confessors, because, like Christ, they fight *usque ad sanguinem*. But the virgins and ascetics also, and in a sense all Christians, overcome the devil by distinguishing themselves in the fight against the evil within them. The notion of this unbloody fight had come to the foreground, when the bloody persecutions had come to an end. The bishops, who distinguish themselves by their honourable position, often by their personal sanctity and tactful conduct of affairs, and sometimes by their merits in the field of theology or in combating heresy, occupy a special place. This particular form of glory, which is acquired by holding high offices in the Church and by writing and expounding theology, became current in the fourth century, when theological disputes played an important part and the episcopal dignity also assumed external splendour. Then there is the new notion of the *gloria Imperatoris* which has profane as well as typically Christian aspects.

Peculiar to the fourth century is also the glory of Christ in so far as it expresses itself in the external success of the martyrs and the miracles wrought through their intercession, and especially in the external prosperity of the Church and the political victory of Christianity. In this sense Christ's victory over the world assumes a rather definite character and His glory becomes really universal.

Christ's triumph and glory will only be complete on the day of the last Judgement, when He will come with His martyrs to judge the world. The Christians of both the third and the fourth century look forward to this final victory.

We shall now proceed to inquire how this triumph and glory of Christ is represented in the arts.

**6. The 'Gloria Christi' in early-Christian art.** The idea of *gloria Christi* is expressed in various compositions: the presentations of the wreath by the martyrs and the *Magi*, the wreathed Christ-monogram, the triumphal cross and the wreath with which the figure of Christ Himself is crowned.

#### 1. Martyrs carrying wreaths.

The idea that the *gloria Christi* is bound up with the victories

of the martyrs is found in Christian art from its beginning. We find it on the sarcophagi and in the mosaics where the martyrs are depicted as proceeding towards Christ and presenting their wreaths to Him. Looking at those stately processions of apostles, martyrs and virgins carrying their wreaths, one is reminded of the opening verses of the *Te Deum* as rendered by St. Cyprian: *Illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus, ... illic martyrum innumerabilis populus ob certaminis et passionis gloriam et victoriam coronatus, triumphantes virgines*<sup>1</sup>). Does, however, this presenting of the wreaths not signify something more than a *Te Deum laudamus*, a general tribute? There are analogous instances where solemn homage is paid to profane persons, but here the question is what did the Christians see in those representations. The ecclesiastical writers say that the wreath of the martyr is not only from God, but is also due to God and that in crowning the martyr with the wreath God crowns Himself. St. Cyprian says of Christ: *Non sic est ut servos suos tantum aspectet, sed ipse luctatur in nobis, ipse congregitur, ipse in certamine agonis nostri et coronat pariter et coronatur*<sup>2</sup>). It is His Spirit who *ipse in nobis loquitur et coronatur*<sup>3</sup>). In the apse of the Church of Santa Pudenziana we see the *Ecclesia ex Judaeis* and the *Ecclesia ex Gentibus* hold wreaths over the heads of St. Peter and Paul respectively; this is perhaps suggestive of the following passage, *Quae est corona qua coronatur Christus nisi corona gloriae? ... solus Christus habet coronam gloriae qua eum ecclesia coronavit. In hac corona omnes coronae sunt, quia gloria non portio unius coronae, sed praemium omnium coronarum est*<sup>4</sup>). St. Augustine also assigns the *corona martyrii* to Christ, *qui in nobis coronaturus est non merita nostra sed dona sua*<sup>5</sup>).

The *Gloria Christi* therefore speaks to us through the Church, the Apostles and the martyrs. It is Christ Himself who gives and receives the wreath in the *martyrium* (cf. Pl. III, IV and Vb). The reception and the presentation of the wreaths by the martyrs are only two aspects of the same idea, which essentially is the same as

1) Cypr. *mort.* 26 (CSEL 3,1, p. 313,27ff.). — DÜTSCHKE, p. 237: it is a general way of paying homage to Christ (contrary to FICKER).

2) Cypr. *epist.* 10,4 (CSEL 3,2, p. 494,6-12).

3) Cypr. *epist.* 58,5 (CSEL 3,2, p. 661,9).

4) Ambr. *in psalm.* 118 *serm.* 15,11 (CSEL 62, p. 336,14-19). Cf. Pl. V b.

5) Aug. *in psalm.* 118 *serm.* 8 (PL 37,1264).







the *gloria Christi*. We may say that the *corona martyrii* is also the first representation of the *gloria Christi*, in as much as this is involved in the combat of the martyrs.

## 2. The Wreath of the Magi.

In the first half of the third century already we find the *Magi* represented as offering gifts to the Holy Child sitting on His Mother's Knee. This way of depicting the *Magi* is later also found: several times in the catacombs<sup>1)</sup>, and frequently on the sarcophagi of Rome as well as on those of Gaul and Ravenna<sup>2)</sup>. Usually there are three *Magi*, but sometimes two or four. They are seen one behind another, their heads slightly bent forward hastening towards the Holy Child in His mother's lap (cf. Pl. Va). Not in the earliest pictures, but in those of a somewhat later date the first of the *Magi* is depicted as offering a golden wreath, the other two a plate on which are grains of incense and a vase containing myrrh, at least in so far as the gifts can be recognized<sup>3)</sup>. Sometimes all three of them offer a wreath<sup>4)</sup>. In several pictures we also find the star, and in one we see a person whom Baus and others suppose to be St. Joseph, but who most certainly represents Balaam<sup>5)</sup>.

Both in the catacombs and on the sarcophagi we meet with those representations among the *miracula Christi*; we may, therefore, safely assume that such a representation was well-known in the days of Constantine and soon became frequent.

It is a representation of the Epiphany, the revelation of God's glory to the heathen. Many Epiphany-sermons prove this: St. Augustine expresses it most strikingly: *Nunc fiunt primitiae gentium Magi, quanto a maiore impietate liberati tanto maiorem dantes gloriam liberanti*, and a little further he exclaims: *O gloria regis nostri! Merito Judaei a Romanis victi sunt nec deleti*, for in this way the Jews were able to reveal Christ to the Romans<sup>6)</sup>.

This text shows that Christ is seen not only as God, Who reveals Himself, but also as King and Redeemer Who visits His

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1) WM Taf. 116; 144; 166; 241; 239.

2) WS Tav. 8,1; 92,2; 96; 105,1; 126,2; 129,2; 185,3; 204,2,3; 219,1,3; 221,6; 222; 223; 224; 225; 242,1; 249,11; 284,4. DÜTSCHKE, Abb. 3; 26.

3) WS Tav. 126,2; 92,2; DÜTSCHKE, Abb. 26.

4) WS Tav. 129,2; 185,3; GARRUCCI, Tav. 433,9.

5) BAUS 197; WS Tav. 96.

6) AUG. *serm.* 374,2 (PL 39,1667).



subjects: *κύριος καὶ σωτήρ*. And as such the *Magi* pay homage to Him: offering gifts and especially presenting the wreath, which signifies the recognition of the *Gloria regis*. In particular the pictures in which the three *Magi* are seen offering a wreath, prove that here it is not a question of the historical *Magi*, but the heathen recognizing the *Gloria regis*. This manner of representation and the ideas associated with it by the Fathers of the Church unmistakably show the influence of the cult of the profane rulers, as CUMONT has established in his article on the similarity between the representation of the adoration by the *Magi* and the manner in which subjugated eastern princes do homage to the emperor<sup>1</sup>). This influence therefore affects not only the scheme of composition, but also the ideas associated with it.

As may be inferred from the works of St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, this way of representing the *Magi* put the Christians of the fourth century in mind not only of the calling of the heathen, but also of the actual subjection of the *nationes* to Christ, of which they themselves were witnesses. And in this sense the presentation of the wreaths by the *Magi* signifies the recognition of the *Gloria Christi*, which manifests itself in the expansion of the Church and receives a universal character in the subjection of all nations: *In lata gente gloria regis*.

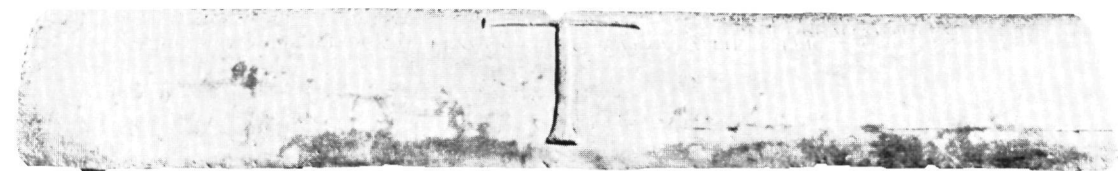
### 3. The Triumphal Cross.

In the latter half of the fourth century, approximately round the year 360, an entirely new and original design of the triumphal cross comes into existence. In its most characteristic and elaborate form it is only found on a series of Roman and Gallic sarcophagi. The Christ-monogram is often seen surrounded by a wreath<sup>2</sup>), but it only becomes a real trophy when it is placed upon the standard of the cross and the purple *taeniae* of the wreath hang down from the cross-beam (Pl. VI)<sup>3</sup>). On the cross-beam one usually observes two doves pecking at the wreath, a symbol of the souls who believe in Christ:

<sup>1</sup>) F. CUMONT, *L'Adoration des Mages et l'art triomphal de Rome*, Atti della Pont. Accademia Romana di Arch., Ser. III Memorie vol. 3, Roma 1932-1933, p. 81-105. Cf. BAUS 196.

<sup>2</sup>) WS Tav. 36,2; 168,4; 189,1; DÜTSCHKE, Abb. 5a; 19; 30c; 32; 33; 34d; 35a; GARRUCCI, Tav. 423; 116; 456; 458,1.2.

<sup>3</sup>) WS Tav. 16,1.2; 18,1.2.4.5; 142,1.2.3; 146,1.3; 217,7; 238,1.4.6.7; 240,3; 241,1.2; 239,2; 11,4.





*Quaeque super signum resident caeleste, columbae  
simplicibus produnt regna patere dei...  
Nos quoque perficies placitas tibi, Christe, columbas  
si vigeat puris pax tua pectoribus<sup>1)</sup>.*

In most cases we find two soldiers at the foot of the cross, the watchmen who guarded the Sepulchre<sup>2)</sup>. In one instance we see two lambs lifting up their heads to the cross<sup>3)</sup>, and in another two stags drinking from four streams which rise at the foot of the cross on the hill<sup>4)</sup>: here we notice that the Cross on Calvary has been identified with the tree of life in the Garden of Eden. The streams of life which arise at the foot of the Cross remind us of the close connexion between baptism and the Passion<sup>5)</sup>. There is universal agreement nowadays that those representations symbolize the triumph of the Cross<sup>6)</sup>. Formerly there was a difference of opinion on this point. This can hardly be a matter of surprise, since we find so many different *motifs* in them. First of all there is much that reminds us of the Passion, notably the Cross, which occupies a central position. Further, we often find other scenes of the Passion of Christ or of the martyrdom of the Apostles arranged round the triumphal Cross<sup>7)</sup>. Again on other sarcophagi we see rows of apostles proceeding in calm resignation towards the Cross<sup>8)</sup>. On the other hand the Roman soldiers at the foot of the Cross signify the watchmen at the sealed sepulchre in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea, from which Christ rose on Easter-day. And when we see doves and deer approaching the cross to find new life and new strength, we are reminded of baptism as the source of new life and Easter as the festival of new life. An interesting detail is found on a fragment of a Sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum<sup>9)</sup>; it has the cross and at its foot soldiers and on either side apostles carrying wreaths, but instead of the wreathed monogram it has a phoenix perched on the top of the cross between two doves; this bird, said to rise more beautiful from its own ashes, is the symbol of the risen Christ. Further, it has a picture of the *staurotheca* which

1) Paulinus Nolanus, *epist.* 32,14 (Opp. I, 284); cf. DÜTSCHKE, p. 135.

2) The soldiers are a transposition of the defeated barbarians and symbolize the *instrumenta mortis*.

3) WS Tav. 241,2.

4) WS Tav. 18,1.

5) Tert. *bapt.* 16,1 (C.Chr. I, 290,1-6).

6) F. v. D. MEER, *Christus' Oudste Gewaad*, p. 148ff.

7) WS Tav. 16, 142,1.2.3; 146,1.3; 217,7.

8) WS Tav. 11,4; 18,1.2.3.4.5; 238,6.7; 239,2; 240,3.

9) WS Tav. 18,3.

stood in the τέμενος of the Anastasis-Church at Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>). The reference to this *staurotheca*, richly decked with jewels, is even more pronounced on later sarcophagi, on which a gemmed cross is depicted instead of the simple wooden one.

Finally, the immediate *motifs* of victory are very conspicuous in this picture, chief among which is the wreath, not only the one round the Christ-monogram, but also the wreath in the hands of the Apostles and those depicted in and above the scenes of the Passion. In this connexion the eagle can only symbolize victory; and the purple colour of the *taeniae* marks the whole as a real trophy. Furthermore, the Christ-monogram with the laurel wreath around it points, unmistakably, to the *labarum*, the Imperial Standard, with all the spiritual and temporal *motifs* of victory associated with it<sup>2</sup>). These *motifs* have a definite and predominant character; this is apparent from the fact that the cross serves as the standard for the wreathed Christ-monogram and even more from the early-Christian texts in which the Cross and the Resurrection are always conceived as a dual aspect of the complete victory of Christ over Satan and death. With regard to this idea of glory and victory it must suffice here to refer again to what we have said about the *gloria Dei* in literature. To those observations may be added that from the time when crucifixion as a punishment was prohibited by law, the sign of the cross had lost its ignominious signification and had become a mark of honour: *Honorata est et finita. Finita est in poena, manet in gloria*<sup>3</sup>). This viewpoint is essential to Christianity, according to St. Ambrose, *ille est autem ecclesiae filius qui crucem triumphum putat, si vocem Christi triumphantis agnoscat*<sup>4</sup>). St. Leo the Great also admires the power and the glory of the cross: *O admirabilis potentia crucis! O ineffabilis gloria Passionis! in qua et tribunal Domini, et iudicium mundi, et potestas est crucifixi*<sup>5</sup>). As the Greeks speak of the τροπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ so does St. Leo, and others with him, speak of the *tropaeum crucis Christi*<sup>6</sup>), and he describes Christ carrying His Cross as follows: *Gloriosissimus diaboli victor et inimicarum vir-*

1) V. D. MEER, *Oudste Gewaad*, 150.

2) CHR. MOHRMANN, *A propos de deux mots controversés de la latinité chrétienne: tropaeum-nomen*, VC 8 (1954), p. 154; F. DÖLGER, *Die sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, p. 133ff.

3) Aug. in psalm. 36 serm. 2,4 (PL 36,366).

4) Ambr. in Luc. 7,5 (CSEL 32,4, p. 284, 18-19).

5) Leo serm. 59,7 (PL 54,341 A).

6) Leo serm. 82,5 (PL 54,425 B).





*tutum potentissimus debellator pulchra specie triumphphi sui portabat tropaeum*<sup>1)</sup>). The cross therefore is a real trophy, the sign of the spiritual victory which Christ has won over the powers of Hell by His death and resurrection.

It may still be asked whether other worldly *motifs* of victory have played a part in the representation of the triumphal cross. We have already remarked that the wreathed monogram implies a reference to the Imperial Standard the *labarum*; the question is whether this also implies the external victory of Christianity. Before 313 A.D. the christian idea of victory was purely spiritual, but in the fourth century the Christians undoubtedly felt the external expansion of the Church as a triumph. St. Augustine especially is the interpreter of those sentiments. We have a still more concrete expression of those sentiments, when they become associated with the cross in the Imperial diadem or in the Christ-monogram; thus St. Ambrose when praising the deceased Valentinianus says: *ornatus capitis gloriosus, quod non regalia diademata, sed Domini sanguinis insignia coronarent*<sup>2)</sup>). St. Augustine expresses it even more clearly: *Attende, saltem gloriam crucis ipsius. Iam in fronte regum crux illa fixa est, cui inimici insultaverunt. Effectus probavit virtutem: domuit orbem, non ferro, sed ligno*<sup>3)</sup>). St. Augustine uses an argument here which would not have impressed the Christians of the third century, viz. *effectus probavit virtutem*. But the argument was valid in his days; both the visible and the invisible triumph of Christ were before him in one perspective, to him the two together formed the total triumph of Christ which characterized his own time: *iam Christo in coelo sedente, iam glorificato, iam subiectis cervicibus regum iugo eius, et suppositis eorum frontibus signo eius, iam nullo remanente qui palam Christianis audeat insultare*<sup>4)</sup>). From this we may conclude that the cross and Christ-monogram symbolized the external victory of Christianity, just because they had become imperial insignia.

To sum up it may be concluded that the representation of the triumphal cross symbolizes the triumph of Christ in its widest sense, namely:

1) the spiritual victory of Christ over death and devil by his death

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1) Leo *serm.* 59,4 (PL 54,339 C).

2) Ambr. *obit. Valent.* 69.

3) Aug. *in psalm.* 54,12 (PL 36,638).

4) Aug. *in psalm.* 69,2 (PL 36,866).



and resurrection and by the deaths of innumerable Christian martyrs (sometimes indicated by a row of apostles and martyrs round the cruciform trophy).

2) the external victory of Christ, which may be seen in the numerical growth and geographical expansion of the Church, and the political victory consisting in the christianization of the imperial government.

The latter observation regarding the triumphal cross may be seen as a background to other *motifs*; in particular the separate representations of the wreathed Christ-monogram or wreathed cross betray such an influence, even though they are more in the nature of an emblem and therefore the implication of Christian victory is no longer very pronounced (Pl. VII).

#### 4. The *Corona Christi*.

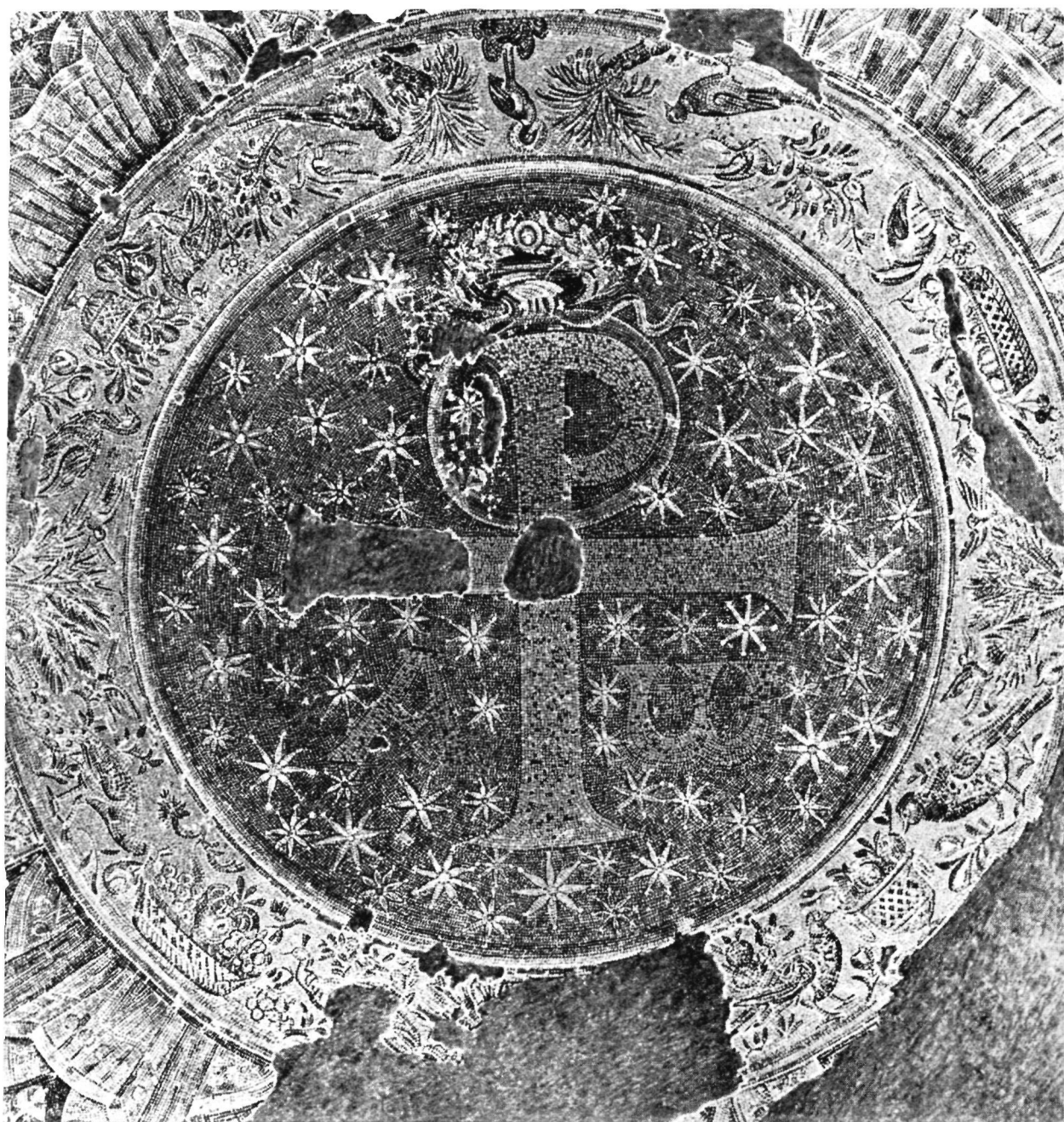
In depicting Christ the early Christians have shown great reverence and diffidence; this diffidence is shown especially with regard to the profane Imperial *motifs*. Whereas the martyrs already carry wreaths and the cross is surrounded by the symbols of victory, the figure of Christ is depicted without a wreath, and this persists for quite a long time. Unmoved He receives the homage of the wreath-carrying martyrs and *Magi*. Only on a few sarcophagi do we find the wreath depicted over the figure of Christ bearing a cruciform staff or over the scenes of His Passion<sup>1</sup>). In a mosaic of a later date we see Him being crowned with a wreath by the Hand of God, *gloria et honore coronatus*<sup>2</sup>).

There can be very little doubt about the signification of this wreath. It is, however, interesting to note that the 'Ruhmeskranz' is used, not only in representations of a general character, but also in connexion with the crowning with thorns and the Ascension. The crowning with thorns we find on the well-known sarcophagus 171 in the Lateran Museum<sup>3</sup>): a soldier is seen crowning Christ not with thorns but laurels. The idea of the *gloria Passionis*, therefore, not only dominates the conception of the Passion as a whole or its effect, as conceived by the early Christians, but also made itself felt in depicting separate details. A kindred view we find in St. Ambrose, who spontaneously couples the *gloria trium-*

1) WS Tav. 295,1; 297,2.

2) WMM Taf. 132.

3) WS Tav. 146,3.





*phalis* with the *corona de spinis*: *Corona quoque de spinis capiti eius adnexa quid aliud quam divini operis munus ostendit, quod de peccatoribus mundi tamquam saeculi spinis triumphalis deo gloria quaereretur*<sup>1</sup>).

A representation of Christ's Ascension (to be dated about 430 A.D.) is found on the door of the church of St. Sabina in Rome<sup>2</sup>): it shows Christ standing erect with the Greek alpha and omega and a book with the word *Ἰησους* on it, the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Above this are the heavens with the sun and the stars and below it the Apostles Peter and Paul crowning the Mother of God with the cross-trophy. The chief point to note in this picture is not so much the *gloria Christi* living on in the Church, as the figure of Christ ascending to Heaven. In this picture of the Ascension we find the *motifs* both of His Renown and His Splendour. This dual conception is expressed in *Victor in coelum redit* and in the words of St. Augustine, *transiit maiestas Domini in clarificatione Domini qua resurgens ascendit ad Patrem*<sup>3</sup>).

In the Syrian Codex of Rabula (dated 586 A.D.) Christ is portrayed as ascending to Heaven *in claritate*, while two angels are offering wreaths to Him<sup>4</sup>).

The wreath is a *motif* which dates back to the days of struggle and persecution, when it was firmly believed that martyrdom was a God-sent privilege: *O argumentum crudelitatis quae idcirco occidit, ne moriatur quem occiderit!*<sup>5</sup>). After the Act of Toleration of 313 A.D. the wreath was the symbol of the victory gained in this bloody combat; the glory derived from this victory becomes a regular theme in Christian art. This theme plays a less important part after 400 A.D. though it persists in Christian art for a few centuries more. The wreath of the martyrs, the triumphal cross and sometimes the wreath of Christ Himself form the most conspicuous expressions of this theme. It is remarkable that the *motifs* of victory never affected the figure of Christ. He is always the Master who confers the wreaths upon the martyrs or receives their homage. The idea of Christ being *semper victor* and *Imperator* as found in literature only finds indirect expression in the plastic

1) Ambr. *in Luc.* 10,105 (CSEL 32,4, p. 494,22).

2) GARRUCCI, Tav. 500.

3) Aug. *trin.* 2,17,30 (PL 42,865).

4) GARRUCCI, Tav. 139,2.

5) Tert. *scorp.* 7,2 (C.Christ. II, 1081, 3-4).

arts. It is implied in the wreaths presented to Him by the martyrs, in the triumphal cross and also in Christ occupying the central position in the compositions, which gradually become more and more hieratic. Those *motifs* indeed play an important part in the plastic arts, but at the same time show the hesitation and a diffidence of the early Christians in depicting Christ, especially in connexion with imperial or victory *motifs*.

In the representation of the adoration of the Magi we have an expression of the Greatness of Christ as *Κύριος καὶ Σωτήρ*. Here it is not a question of His radiant splendour and glory, but of His divine power and royal dignity, to which the *primitiae Gentium* have come to pay homage; it is the recognition of the *gloria regis* by the Gentiles.

## F. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The significance of renown as a vital element in the lives of the Christians before and after the Edict of Toleration.

'War is one of the primitive forms of life, and there are unalienable virtues which find their fullest, or at any rate their symbolic expression in the military order — therefore no superior religion can dispense with the metaphors derived from the art of war' (HARNACK)<sup>1</sup>. As a general statement this is certainly open to criticism. Yet military symbolism is undoubtedly a very characteristic note of pre-Constantine Christianity in the West, where such metaphors were elaborated and applied to the practice of Christian virtues. The whole of the *militia christiana* set its mark on the morals and behaviour of the early Christians, as may be seen from their language. This complex system of the *militia christiana* is mainly based on the Epistles of St. Paul, — I *Thess.* 5.8; II *Cor.* 6.7; *Rom.* 6.13; 6.23; 13.12; *Eph.* 6.10-18 — and on the passages of the Apocalypse in which the struggle between good and evil is described as warfare. The gospels, on the contrary, show a spirit entirely alien to this, although it is true to say that in the third and fourth centuries some disjointed texts were interpreted in a Christian-military sense, e.g. *Matth.* 10.34. It is not surprising that it was just those texts and the ideas they expressed that came into great prominence in the Western Church,

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1) A. HARNACK, *Militia Christi*, p. 2.

because there the memory of Rome's great military past was still vivid, and the typically military virtues and style of life were still appreciated. Nor should we forget the position of the Christians, a small, closed community, which formed an insignificant minority in a hostile and predominantly pagan society. This situation naturally led the Christians to adopt a defensive and militant attitude rather than a conciliatory and receptive attitude towards the world and its sphere of life. A clear proof of the truly Christian character of the *militia christiana* is the fact that the idea of Christian warfare was of a spiritual and moral nature, and that the Christians in their *militia* practiced evangelical non-violence to perfection even during the most violent persecutions. The idea of warfare and non-violence found its fullest concrete expression in the martyr. The idea of martyrdom underwent a change; from bearing testimony to Christ it developed into fighting with Christ. This development in the idea of martyrdom is in keeping with the position of the Christians during the persecutions. It may seem strange to us that, to the Christians, martyrdom was the ideal of perfection, and that many of them longed and even prayed for it; yet it was quite natural at a time when martyrdom was a real possibility for every one. The attitude of the early Christians towards martyrdom was a necessary adaptation to the actual conditions of the time. To be a Christian implied willingness to suffer martyrdom.

It is remarkable that towards the end of the second century and throughout the third the idea of spiritual warfare and martyrdom became very closely associated with the idea of Christian renown and victory. It might be suggested, for instance, that the idea of victory in the letters of St. Cyprian was merely the result of high-sounding rhetoric and that it had no real foundation in Christian thought. But the historical and linguistic facts arguing against such a suggestion are many. They clearly show that it was a generally prevailing Christian idea, which profoundly influenced the views, lives and language of the Christians. This universal Christian idea found expression, for instance, in early-Christian art, in which the wreath, a very comprehensive symbol to the heathens, became the exclusive symbol of Christian victory. It also revealed itself in usages connected with the solemnization of marriage: thus to the Christian the wedding-wreath became the symbol of his victory over sexual desires. The influence of this tendency is also discernible

in the choice of names: *Gloriosus*, *Vincentius*, *Nice*, *Niketus*, *Victor*, *Victorianus*, etc. The same mentality is also revealed in the veneration of the martyrs, in the privileges, titles and honour conferred upon them during their life-time and after their death, and also in the ardent longing of the Christians for martyrdom. Then again there are linguistic data that bear witness to it. A very interesting example of this is the word *tropaeum*<sup>1</sup>). In Christian Latin it came to mean the victory of a martyr, and besides denoted sometimes the glorified Body of Christ, the body of a martyr, and in a few instances even the living martyr. No less illustrative is the development of the word *gloria*, which, as explained above, in translations of the Bible acquired the meaning of the resplendent majesty of God and man's participation in this divine splendour. But the Christians immediately understood this word *gloria* in the sense of renown, renown in the eyes of God and their fellow-Christians, and acquired by spiritual warfare and moral victory over the devil. He was their *adversarius*, whom they saw personified in pagan society and especially in the rulers who were hostile to the Church. More remarkable even is that they accepted *claritas* and *clarificare* as a nuance of *gloria*, for those were pre-eminently old biblical terms which naturally evoked their associations with light. The very fact that the Christians understood those terms in that sense goes to show that they adopted an attitude which biblical factors alone cannot explain. The texts which were most frequently quoted and discussed were such as *Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur* (I Cor. 1.31), *Mihi absit gloriari nisi in cruce Domini nostri* (Gal. 6.14), *De nostra humilitate gloriemur* (Judith 8.17), *Non sunt condignae passionibus huius temporis ad claritatem superventuram* (Rom. 8.18), *psalm. 61.8*; II Cor. 1.12; *psalm. 23.10*; and *psalm. 149.5 Exsultabunt sancti in gloria, laetabuntur in cubilibus suis*. Christian glory derived special emphasis from the sharp contrast with profane glory, notably in the antithesis *gloria caelestis* - *gloria humana*, in which profane glory was not only considered inferior, but even devilish, while Christian glory was considered far superior to it and looked upon as the highest ideal of life.

It cannot be denied that the symbolism derived from the idea of victory reflects the general mentality of the Christians. Everything

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1) MOHRMANN, VC 8 (1954), p. 154ff.

points to it that this must be viewed as a vital conception of life which determined the way in which the Christians of the third century experienced their fight with the pagan world and strove after the realization of their ideals of perfection. To get a clear idea of what *gloria* really meant to the early Christians, it will be necessary to find the answer to the question how their idea of victory is to be explained and what part it played in their practical lives as Christians. With the faith the early Christians implicitly accepted martyrdom, and thousands of them have actually been martyred, which, despite many apostasies, proves the strength of their Christian belief. Another, even more arresting fact is that they faced martyrdom without fear or consternation, and accepted it as a matter of course, even looked forward to it and hailed it with eagerness. In suffering martyrdom they were not primarily prompted by a spirit of evangelical detachment or stoic equanimity, but by an intense desire to reach the summit of Christian glory. This attitude differs widely from that of St. Ignatius of Antioch <sup>1)</sup>, to mention only one eastern martyr. In the martyr the Christian of the West primarily recognized the glorious warrior and triumphant victor. This raises the question why in the minds of the Western Christians of the third century the idea of martyrdom became so closely associated with the idea of renown and victory. Why did the early Christians go through that struggle and accept martyrdom in that way?

A very important factor in this connexion is, to my mind, the fact that Christianity was the first to proclaim and defend the irreplaceable and eternal value of human personality. In paganism this truth was not known, at any rate not in its absolute form. There were, indeed, people who, being trained and influenced by philosophy, theoretically acknowledged the autarchy of virtue and the autonomy of man. But the number of them who put this theory into practice and could still hold their own was comparatively small. Nowhere in pagan Antiquity outside this group do we find the idea that every human being occupies a unique place in this world and that, as a consequence, he is not only indispensable but has also a right to develop, unhindered, his own personal qualities in relation to his environment. Not only was this idea lacking, but even the necessary conditions for a real personal culture were

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1) His ideal was: *συνεῖναι σὺν Χριστῷ*; cf. *supra* p. 59.



largely wanting, at all events during the time of the Empire. There existed a large measure of legal insecurity, and totalitarian tendencies played an important part in some periods of Antiquity. During the reign of the emperors the average man had hardly any chance to establish his own dignity and significance or to distinguish himself from others. Only a few succeeded in breaking away from the crowd and establishing their own significance. Those were the men who distinguished themselves as politicians or soldiers or in the field of culture or sports. They had proved themselves, in some respects, to be indispensable to the community by their extraordinary achievements, and were to live in the memory of posterity and thus to be granted immortality as understood by the Ancients. Hence it is that *gloria* formed an integral part of their idea of personality, of the ideal man in Antiquity, and particularly in ancient Rome. From of old it had been considered a disgrace for a Roman citizen not to strive after *gloria*, every one was obliged to equal his ancestors in *gloria*, the *gloria maiorum*. In *gloria* he showed his individuality and at the same time his relation to the *gens* and the *respublica*. *Gloria* was the true hall-mark of the *vir*, especially of the *vir magnus*, who by his *virtus* had given shape to his existence as man, and thereby had raised himself above his fellow-men. From Decius Brutus down to Livy the Roman idea of man was dominated by the combination of these two ideas: *gloria* and *moderatio*, referred to by Vergil as *gloria* and *pietas*, and personified by him in the figure of the *pious Aeneas*... *fama super aethere notus*<sup>1)</sup>. To the Romans *gloria* implied both their ideal of moral greatness and their idea of immortality. The pursuit of *gloria* is a typically Roman way of personal culture. Therefore St. Augustine felt justified in saying that the Romans *cupiditate laudis et gloriae non quidem iam sancti sed minus turpes sunt*<sup>2)</sup>. And for the same reason the Western Fathers of the Church found it rather difficult to conceal their admiration for the greatness of the Roman people, although they realized that this glory had no lasting foundation. For the greatness which the ancient Romans pursued did not touch the real and essential dignity of the human personality. To the Roman *gloria* was the expression of his importance to public life but not of his own significance as a unique being. What he tried to attain was

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1) Verg. *Aen.* 1,379.

2) Aug. *civ.* 5,13.

only to be important to the service of the State, of the army etc., but always to the service of something other than himself, because he did not realize that within him he possessed another value superior to the one he pursued. This also held good of the most prominent personalities, who by *gloria* sought to attain to immortality in the eyes of the people. Glory and immortality belonged indeed to the persons themselves, but they always implied subservience to the community as an indispensable factor.

This conception of man persisted throughout the time of the Empire, rooted as it was in Roman tradition and literature, notably in Livy and Vergil, whose works were regularly used in schools<sup>1</sup>). Even when the conditions required for the realization of this ideal deteriorated, the ideal continued to live, as we have shown before, and even received a fresh impulse. We may say, therefore, that in the third and fourth centuries the desire for honour and glory largely determined the Roman idea of man, which was very different indeed from the modern one.

Consequently it is almost natural that the Christians too introduced the desire for glory into their idea of personality. And the fact that they set such a thoroughly Christian mark upon this desire shows the intensity of their religious conviction and the vitality of their belief. They were aware that the eternal value of every human being did not primarily lie in himself, nor in the community, but in his relation to God. Therefore they strove to be great in the eyes of God and aimed at acquiring *gloria apud Deum*, rejecting every form of glory in the eyes of the heathens. This total rejection of profane glory shifted the stress to the pursuance of Christian glory. The firm stand they took in this matter suggests that they were well aware of their own worth and their independence of their environment. But the heart of their self-assurance was undoubtedly their belief that God had given a personal and eternal destination to each of them, that as Christians they were set apart by God, but also that, as Tertullian and St. Cyprian emphatically declared, they had undertaken heavy obligations and had to be prepared to undergo martyrdom, thus grow 'unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ' (*Eph.* 4.13). They also realized that martyrdom was necessary for the continuance of the Church and that the martyrs were the pillars of Christianity.

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1) H. I. MARROU, *Histoire de l'Education*, p. 373.

This notion is met with throughout the whole of Christian Antiquity, starting with Tertullian's well-known adage *Semen est sanguis christianorum*. Furthermore, the privileges granted to the martyrs within the community were nothing but a concrete expression of their significance to the Church. In this sense the Christians understood their desire for the *gloria martyrum*, which in their eyes was the answer of man to his election by God, and at the same time meant to them the realization of the temporal and eternal value of human personality. This is quite evident from the Acts of the martyrs, in which they repeatedly declare that their personality is inviolable. Of course another factor that comes into play here is the belief in their own superiority and moral ascendancy over their pagan persecutors, who often failed to understand the self-esteem of the martyrs. The Christians knew quite well that most heathens were failures even in this life and never succeeded in establishing their own value. They also knew that those who did succeed could only actualize their value in *vana gloria*, which was worthless for the life to come. They were convinced that theirs was the true *gloria*, which did not go to a few but to many, indeed to all Christians, since every Christian in principle accepted martyrdom.

In addition we may well suppose that also the social position and status of the Christians played no insignificant part in their pursuit of glory. Having regard to the vulgarisms occurring in early-Christian Latin, of which the letters from the Roman clergy to St. Cyprian are a striking illustration, we cannot but assume that the main body of Christians and part of the clergy too belonged to the lower class of society. It is true, the Christians also counted intellectuals and men of letters among them, as is evident from Christian literature. Yet it is fairly certain that the early-Christian communities were largely recruited from the lower classes and numbered many slaves among them. Socially, the Christians were in an adverse position and in addition to that had to bear the strain of the persecutions, which were a continuous menace to life and property. Worse still, since the reign of the emperor Decius the Christians were regarded as a danger to the State. They were the out-casts of society and the laughing-stock of their contemporaries, as inscriptions and literature show (e.g. Lucian). Those facts are important, because every one forms a picture of the ideal man from the viewpoint of his own situation. To a modern proletarian,

who goes under in the crowd and sees the unique sense of his existence wrecked in the monotony of a humdrum-life, the possibility to distinguish himself and escape from the crowd becomes a dominant factor in his life. He does not aim at an ordinary, common-level existence, trying quietly to make the possibilities offered to him a reality. To him the ideal man is the one who is clearly distinguished from every one else, who is the hero in the news-reel, the champion, the popular general, the successful politician, the filmstar. Any personal success however small in this direction is of the greatest significance to him. But the number of them that succeed in breaking the obstacles is insignificant, most of them fail in the attempt. This over-emphasis of personal success is in itself nothing abnormal. If they should abandon it, they would not be able to maintain themselves. It is an over-compensation which, viewed from their situation, is practically a necessity to them.

Now the Christians were in a similar position. They too were faced with the difficulty of holding their own in a hostile world that scorned and despised them. It is not to be wondered at that under the weight of oppression they began to struggle for a foothold. Hence it is that so much emphasis was laid on knowing one's own human dignity and greatness, which in the minds of the Ancients was embodied in *gloria*; hence also the recklessness with which the Christians pursued Christian glory. Pagan society offered them no chance, and this explains why they were so uncompromising in their rejection of all profane glory. This background lends more depth to their belief that they had vanquished the world and the devil. The knowledge of their moral victory provided an offset against the menace of the world, which threatened to crush not only their natural life, but also their personality. To them the triumphant martyr was the embodiment of the ideal man, he is always represented as an athlete, a gladiator or a glorious warrior, but rarely as a high state-officer and never as a sage or a philosopher. Those pictures betray the ideals of the lower classes; they show that their ambition was to excel and to distinguish themselves in public life. It was an extraordinary experience for the Christians to profess their faith before the magistrate and to defy the official authority of the State. They attached great importance to being allowed to profess their faith before the emperor himself. Such an event they very nearly experienced as a demonstration of their personal inviolability and

as an immediate victory over the world. The privileges which the martyrs enjoyed in the Christian communities complete the picture and, combined with the other factors, show that the way in which the early Christians took the persecutions and tortures and experienced them, was largely determined by their idea of glory and victory. To them *gloria* was a kind of over-compensation, which, in their situation, was quite normal and practically necessary. This argument is not weakened by the fact that some Christians went too far, by usurping priestly powers in the community, adopting a provocative attitude or even committing suicide. Such phenomena may be considered as the abnormal and immoral parallels of the desire for Christian *gloria*.

The fact that St. Cyprian had such a correct estimation of the human side of martyrdom and in his letters laid so much emphasis on *gloria* reveals the psychologist and pastor in him. He fully understood the import of 'l'honneur qui veille en nous comme une lampe dernière dans un temple dévasté' <sup>1</sup>).

The fourth century presents quite a different picture. Now *gloria* does not only signify the greatness of the crucified Christ and the tortured martyrs, but also the moral strength of the ascetic and of all Christians really, who in an unbloody and humble way try to imitate the martyrs in their contempt of the world. The signification of *gloria* becomes associated with ecclesiastical offices and literature, when it came to be applied to the renown of the Fathers of the Church, who, for their sanctity of life, their powers of administration and their theological writings, were a credit to the Church. If before 313 A.D. *gloria* indicated a purely internal greatness, after that date it also assumed external and political aspects, which find their concrete expression in the general expansion of the Church and the political victories of the Christian emperors. The emphasis is often not so much on glory in the eyes of God and one's fellow-Christians as on world-wide glory. This universality of glory begins to play an important part in the idea of *gloria*. Even the antithesis between profane and Christian glory is smoothed down and disappears altogether when the two combine in the emperor, who defends the Empire by armed force and guards the orthodox faith with the same arms.

As a concept, *gloria* has gained in content but lost much of its

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<sup>1</sup>) ALFRED DE VIGNY, *Servitude et Grandeur Militaire* (Conclusion), Paris n.d.

emotional value. In the third century it expressed the struggle of the Christian for his faith and his personality, but in the fourth it gave voice to his consciousness of ecclesiastical and political emancipation. It symbolized the open triumph of Christianity, of the *homines novi* in the Christian era. At this juncture too the symbolic sense of *gloria* conveyed a deep meaning to the Christians. The memory of the persecutions was still very vivid and was kept alive by the circumstance that the Church had taken shape just in those turbulent days and in all her manifestations still bore the marks of those times. For the first time the Christians were aware that they too counted in society, and, at a later stage, realized that they were even citizens of the first order. They regarded all this as a manifestation of God's power, which had long operated in secrecy, but at last revealed itself. They considered themselves living manifestations of His divine power. And this consideration in particular gave them a strong sense of self-assurance and emancipation. Inwardly and outwardly they felt themselves superior to the heathens, who had persecuted them and were still trying to curb their influence. Before the Edict of Milan the idea of *gloria* was influenced by the inferior position of the Christians, but a century later we have to view it in the light of their formal superiority. They had grown conscious of the ecclesiastical and political victory. Viewed in this light *gloria* still played an important part in the lives of the Christians about 400 A.D., though it no longer possessed that nobility and intensity with which it shone in the darkest days of the third century.

Although *gloria* also retained the meaning it had before 300 A.D., this old meaning did no longer strike the same responsive chord. The martyr, besides being a soldier and a hero, had now become a man who contemns the world and works miracles. The renown he won by hearing prayers and working miracles equalled that of his heroism and contempt of death. Then again the biblical concept of man, which hardly implies the element of renown, forced its way more and more into sermons and theological writings. On this account *gloria* lost increasingly more of its predominant character for the Christians in their striving after the ideal of perfection. Nevertheless, they remained Romans, who could never abandon their desire for greatness. Even in the fourth and fifth centuries every Christian continued to strive after *gloria*, which he could win by a moral victory over the devil.

### CHAPTER III

## BIBLICAL GLORIA AND THE WESTERN CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF GLORY

In tracing the evolution of the Christian idea of renown we have wandered wide from the biblical concept of *δόξα*. Nevertheless, the findings of the previous chapter will help us in this chapter to understand the reason why the biblical meaning of *gloria* was so slow in finding its way into Christian Latin. It is well to realize, even at this stage, that from the beginning the word *gloria* in Christian Latin was influenced by the idea of renown. For this fact too obviously exercised its influence on the semantic development of *gloria* in its biblical sense.

After what has been said in the previous chapter, it is certain, and easy to see, that the Christians of the third century understood *gloria*, as it occurred in various places of the Bible, in the sense of renown. We have quoted some instances. But one could also cite passages from the Bible which can hardly be misinterpreted. And it is quite clear that the early Christians did, in fact, not misinterpret those passages. This is true, for instance, of the descriptions of the Old Testament theophanies and the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor. When reading the Bible or listening to sermons they must have met with *gloria* in the sense of God's epiphanic splendour and have understood it as such. But this meaning of *gloria* failed to make the impression on them that might be expected, considering the dominant position *δόξα* occupied in the Bible. Various reasons may be adduced in explanation. In the first place the light-symbolism was not in great vogue with the Christians of the third century. They mostly used the word *lux* to indicate divine light. Then again most of them did not understand the word *gloria* in its more theological sense as used by St. Paul and by St. John. Here we should bear in mind that the Western Christians were not yet ready for theology or a scientific study of the Bible. And finally *gloria* in the sense of renown was so uppermost in

their minds that there was little room left for its biblical meaning.

Thus it is easy to understand why in Tertullian *gloria* only rarely occurs in the sense of God's splendour, and when it does, it is immediately supported by biblical quotations. St. Cyprian does not use it at all in that sense, while *gloria* in the meaning of renown occurs several times on a page. When, however, in the fourth century the idea of renown loses its predominant character, theology as a science begins to flourish and the light-mysticism <sup>1)</sup> exercises its influence on the Christians, its biblical meaning comes more and more into prominence. Then too the biblical meaning of *gloria* passes into common Christian Latin and also into the technical language of theology.

The idea of renown nevertheless remains associated with the word *gloria*. Its biblical meaning did not succeed in ousting the idea of renown completely. On the contrary it absorbed and assimilated the idea of renown. Thus the biblical *gloria* underwent a development which enriched its content. This enrichment is partly due to a misunderstanding of the word *gloria* in the third century.

In the present chapter we shall deal with each Christian author separately and sketch synchronically the usage of *gloria* as it obtained at the time of the author concerned. This will enable us to establish the influences of the various elements such as light, power and renown. It will elucidate, moreover, the nuances of the terms *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas* and the differences between them. Each time we shall discuss *gloria* in its setting and situation obtaining at the time and thus be able to make a right estimate of it. In this way we shall get a complete and comprehensive picture. In the first chapter we investigated the biblical usage of *gloria* analytically, in the second the concept of renown, and in the present chapter we hope to arrive at a synthetic picture of *gloria* and thus to achieve the proper object of this study.

## A. TERTULLIAN

### 1. Biblical *gloria*.

*Gloria* in its biblical sense occurs only a few times in Tertullian. It is almost exclusively found in his exegetical-polemic works,

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1) Cf. UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Le Leggende orientali sui magi evangelici*, p. 59ff.



notably in *Adversus Marcionem* and in *De carnis resurrectione*; when used in this sense, it is always immediately supported by quotations from the Scriptures. It occurs chiefly in connexion with the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor<sup>1)</sup> and the second coming of Christ<sup>2)</sup>. Tertullian often uses the expressions *rex gloriae* or *dominus gloriae*<sup>3)</sup>, *gloria et honore coronare*<sup>4)</sup>, *pondus gloriae*<sup>5)</sup> and *corpus gloriae*<sup>6)</sup>. In all those instances we are dealing with more or less loose quotations from the Scriptures or at least with obvious allusions.

With regard to Tertullian's own interpretation of *gloria* in those texts, we have to observe first of all that Tertullian, more than any of his contemporaries, adheres to the literal meaning of the Scriptures. He does not accept different interpretations for different categories of people<sup>7)</sup>. Allegory is not entirely absent in his works, but he takes pains to give a literal rendering. He is quite familiar with the *gloria Dei* in the sense of the luminous appearance of God, both in the passage which relates the appearance of Yahveh to Moses and in the Transfiguration of Christ on Mount Thabor: he uses here the terms *inlustratus gloria* and *videre gloriam* and suchlike expressions<sup>8)</sup>. He is also conversant with the eschatological glory in which Christ will appear and make us participate<sup>9)</sup>. Tertullian's exegesis of II Cor. 3.18 is remarkable: *Dicit (Paulus) ergo nos iam aperta facie — utique cordis, quod velatum est in Iudaeis — contemplantes Christum eadem imagine transfigurari a gloria, qua scilicet et Moyses transfigurabatur a gloria Domini, in gloriam. Ita corporalem Moysei inlustrationem de congressu domini et corporale velamen de infirmitate populi proponens et spiritalem revelationem et spiritalem claritatem in Christo superducens — tamquam a domino, inquit, spirituum (II Cor. 3.18) — totum ordinem Moysei figuram ignorati apud Iudaeos, agniti vero*

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1) *Adv. Marc.* 4,22,2-3 (C.Ch. I, 601); 4,22,15 (C.Ch. I, 604); *monog.* 8,7 (C.Ch. II, 1240,50-52); *scorp.* 12,1 (C.Ch. II, 1092,8-10).

2) *Adv. Marc.* 3,7,4 (C.Ch. I, 517,4).

3) *Coron.* 14,4 (C.Ch. II, 1064,30); *adv. Marc.* 5,17,5 (C.Ch. I, 713,27); 4,26,4 (C.Ch. I, 615,22); 5,6,5 (C.Ch. I, 679,12); 4,22,3 (C.Ch. I, 601,18).

4) *Coron.* 14,4 (C.Ch. II, 1064,30); *adv. Prax.* 23,5 (C.Ch. II, 1192,25).

5) *Resurr.* 40,9 (C.Ch. II, 974,42).

6) *Adv. Marc.* 5,20,7 (C.Ch. I, 725,9).

7) D'ALÈS, *La théologie de Tertullien*, 244ff.

8) *Adv. Marc.* 4,22,16 (C.Ch. 604,13-14).

9) *Resurr.* 57,3 (C.Ch. II, 1004,13); *adv. Marc.* 3,7 (C.Ch. I, 517,1-26).

*apud nos Christi fuisse testatur*<sup>1)</sup>. From this text it is evident that Tertullian had a very clear idea of the more concrete character of the *gloria Dei* of the Old Testament as well as of the more spiritual and abstract *gloria Dei* of the New Testament. Not until the arrival of St. Augustine do we meet with such a commentary on St. Paul. Following the lines of St. John he recognizes the *gloria Christi* especially in the signs of His Divinity: the remission of sins, the healing of the paralyzed man<sup>2)</sup>, His death and resurrection<sup>3)</sup>.

From this we can only conclude that Tertullian had a very clear idea of the various shades of meaning *gloria* had both in the Old Testament and in the New Testament, which for his time may certainly be described as a surprise<sup>4)</sup>.

## 2. The fusion of biblical *gloria* and the idea of renown.

For the Latin-speaking Tertullian the word *gloria* had not yet lost much of its original signification. Whenever he is not dealing strictly with the Scriptures, we see *gloria* associate itself spontaneously with the idea of renown, especially renown attached to victory, triumph. This is particularly evident, when he is dealing with the royal *δόξα* of Christ. Thus when Tertullian, in contrast to the first *adventus Christi in ignominia*, describes how Christ will come again on the clouds with the *secundi adventus gloria et honore*, he says: *et data est ei potestas regia, et omnes nationes terrae secundum genera, et omnis gloria famulabunda. Et potestas eius usque in aevum*<sup>5)</sup>. In this connexion we have to refer to what has been said in the previous chapter about *gloria Christi*.

Tertullian also uses the subjunctive in the doxologies, so that *gloria* and *claritas* are to be understood as 'honour': *cui sit honor, gloria, claritas, dignitas et potestas et nunc et in saecula saeculorum*<sup>6)</sup>. *Glorificare* too is used in the same way. It occurs regularly in the sense of 'paying homage to God'. Only in two instances, where it is applied to Christ and supported by scriptural texts, does it mean 'to invest with glory'<sup>7)</sup>. The fact that the doxologies

1) *Adv. Marc.* 5,11,8 (C.Ch. I, 697,17-26).

2) *Adv. Marc.* 4,10,1 (C.Ch. I, 562,15-20).

3) *Coron.* 14,4 (C.Ch. II, 1064,26-31).

4) *Adv. Marc.* 3,19,3 (C.Ch. I, 533,12-15).

5) *Adv. Marc.* 3,7,4 (C.Ch. I, 517,2-5).

6) *Uxor.* 1,1,3 (C.Ch. I, 373,15-16).

7) *Bapt.* 16,1 (C.Ch. I, 290,5); *resurr.* 47,15 (C.Ch. II, 987,64).

are expressed in the subjunctive shows that in the West they had no clear idea of the biblical *gloria*; for here the question is not how Tertullian privately interpreted a term, but how the Christians generally understood the doxologies in the liturgy. That the use of the subjunctive in the doxologies only gradually gained ground is evident from the *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*<sup>1)</sup> and the *Acta Cypriani*<sup>2)</sup>, in which we still find the indicative.

It is clear, therefore, that Tertullian does not do full justice to the biblical meaning of *gloria*, even in his commentary on passages from the Scriptures. Though it be granted on the strength of other texts that this is not due to ignorance on the part of Tertullian, but rather to literary escapades, one must still concede the fact that *gloria* in its biblical sense always requires the support of biblical quotations and that no instance can be brought forward to show that *gloria* in its biblical sense has already passed into the common language of the Christians. The concept of δόξα is not yet understood by the Christians generally. Nor is *gloria* used independently in theological language; it is a biblical term subject to varying interpretations and bearing the marks of its profane origin.

Only in eschatological sense is its occurrence more frequent and even found without the support of scriptural quotations. As such it would seem to be a general Christian term, which is not improbable in view of the fact that the eschatological expectations played an important part in early Christianity. It is a general denotation of the life to come, of the fate reserved for the Christians after the resurrection of the body<sup>3)</sup>. The question, however, still is which predominates, the radiating splendour or the renown won by victory. The latter element can hardly ever be entirely ruled out. It is certainly very prominent when *gloria* used is in connexion with the martyrs, and in rhetorical passages, e.g. *Quale autem spectaculum in proximo est adventus domini iam indubitati, iam superbi, iam triumphantis! Quae illa exultatio angelorum, quae gloria resurgentium sanctorum!*<sup>4)</sup>.

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1) *Pass. Perp.* 1,6; cf. 21,11, *cui est claritas et immensa potestas...*

2) *Acta proconsularia Cypr.* 6 (CSEL 3,3, p. CXIV, 3-4).

3) *Resurr.* 57,3 (C.Chr. II, 1004,13); 38,7 (C.Chr. II, 972,31); 40,9 (C.Chr. II, 974,42); *adv. Marc.* 5,20,7 (C.Chr. I, 725,9).

4) *Spect.* 30,1 (C.Chr. I, 252,1-4).

*Gloria Dei* occurs in Tertullian occasionally in the sense of God's resplendent appearance, and as such its usage is completely biblical. But even in such cases Tertullian is always inclined to associate it with the idea of Christ's victory over the world and the devil. Then again *gloria Dei* is very frequently met with in Tertullian in the sense of the glory and honour of God, especially in so far as they are gained in the combats of the martyrs.

Tertullian also uses *gloria* frequently as a general indication of the life to come. Then *gloria* naturally contains biblical elements, especially when it occurs in a biblical context. But even then it nearly always also contains the element of renown and greatness with God. Tertullian uses it then chiefly of martyrs and virgins. The lot of the ordinary Christians is often expressed by *refrigerium*<sup>1</sup>); after the resurrection of the body they too will share in the total victory of Christ and His followers.

As we have seen before, *gloria* may also denote the renown of the Christian during his life-time. This renown was based on his moral victory, and every martyr, virgin and earnest Christian was entitled to it.

In most cases, however, as stated before, Tertullian uses *gloria* in a profane sense. For the Christian living at about 200 A.D. therefore, *gloria* was principally a profane word, which, owing to its historical association, reminded him sometimes of the greatness of the Roman republic; but in common parlance it could denote any kind of glory or renown, preferably however the renown of the soldier and the gladiator.

For the Christians, therefore, *gloria* was an ambivalent concept, in which the idea of renown was very prominent. The confluence of the word *gloria* and the biblical *δόξα* has not been conducive to a better understanding of the Bible. How is it possible that in early Christianity, which after all was intra-biblical, the profane idea of renown got the better of the biblical concept? The answer is that the Christians understood this biblical *gloria* as renown. This is not so surprising as it would appear. For in the Bible *δόξα* often has the meaning of renown, or very nearly so. Besides, the majesty of God is indicated by *δόξα* precisely in so far as it

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<sup>1</sup>) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Refrigerium*, (BOTTE-MOHRMANN, *L'Ordinaire de la Messe*, p. 123ff.).

is a manifestation of His power, of a victory therefore, mostly of a victory over the devil or other enemies of God. Christ too is described in Scripture as one who has triumphed over the devil and the world. There are also elements of the *gloria martyrum* to be found in Scripture, e.g. the idea of *gloriari in Deo* and *gloriari in infirmitate*<sup>1)</sup>. St. Paul's analogy of the running-race originated all the agonistic metaphors<sup>2)</sup>. There are also some texts in St. Paul that could be adduced to support the view that the life of a Christian is a warfare and a *militia*<sup>3)</sup>. This accounts for the fact that the Christians, coming across the word *gloria* in their translations of the Bible, often misunderstood it; at the same time it helped *gloria* to become one of the central ideas of the *militia*-complex and in the conceptions of victory as held by the Christians.

### 3. Cognate words: *claritas* and *maiestas*.

Besides *gloria* we also find, in Tertullian, the words *claritas* and *maiestas*, which are closely related in meaning. Tertullian uses *claritas* only once in the sense of material light<sup>4)</sup>; for the rest he always uses it in a strictly biblical sense; its occurrence is spasmodic.

Like *gloria* in its biblical sense *claritas* too is usually supported by quotations from Scripture. In *Adversus Marcionem* it is used in connexion with the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor<sup>5)</sup>, and with reference to II Cor. 3.11, *stella a stella differt in gloria*<sup>6)</sup>. In those cases there is a continual interchange of the two words without much difference of meaning<sup>7)</sup>. At the end of time Christ will come in the *paterna claritas*<sup>8)</sup>: *regula est autem fidei... Iesum Christum... venturum cum claritate ad sumendos sanctos in vitae aeternae et promissorum caelestium fructum et ad profanos iudicandos igni perpetuo*<sup>9)</sup>. The just too will share in the *claritas*<sup>10)</sup>, the virgins in *albis erunt vestibibus, id est in claritate innubae*

1) 1 Cor. 1.31; 3.21; 2 Cor. 10.17.

2) 1 Cor. 9.24.

3) Rom. 13.12; 2 Cor. 10.3-8; Eph. 6.10-18; Phil. 2.25; 1 Tim. 1.18; 2 Tim. 2.3; cf. MALONE, *The monk and the martyr*, 93. — Cf. apoc. 12.11, *Et ipsi vice-runt eum propter sanguinem Agni et propter verbum testimonii*.

4) *Iesun*. 10,7 (C.Chr. II, 1268,24).

5) *Adv. Marc.* 4,22 (C.Chr. I, 600-604).

6) *Scorp.* 6,7-8 (C.Chr. II, 1080, 19-22); *adv. Marc.* 5,11,4-9 (C.Chr. I, 696-697).

7) *Resurr.* 49,5 (C.Chr. II, 990,18-23).

8) *Carn.* 16,1 (C.Chr. II, 902,9-10).

9) *Praescr.* 13 (C.Chr. I, 197,1-198,15).

10) *Orat.* 3,3 (C.Chr. I, 259,14-16).

*carnis*<sup>1)</sup>, immediately after their death the martyrs will receive the *stellae matutinae claritatem*<sup>2)</sup>. In the sense of *claritas futura* or *claritas superventura*, *claritas* is used several times in non-exegetical works and without being supported by scriptural texts<sup>3)</sup>.

The above texts make it clear that for Tertullian *claritas* is a biblical word; it has not yet an independent existence in Christian Latin or in the technical language of theology, as far as there was one. Only *claritas futura* had found more acceptance in Christian Latin.

Comparing *claritas* with *gloria* we find that both occur in a biblical sense, especially in exegetical-polemical works, but rarely in other writings. Examining all the places where they occur we discover that *claritas* often expresses the aspect of light more explicitly, whereas *gloria* is not unfrequently associated with the idea of victory. Another point of difference is that to Tertullian *claritas* is a biblical term, whereas *gloria* is predominantly used in a profane sense. Therefore both in usage and in signification *claritas* is more biblical than *gloria*. Here the influence of the African Bible-translations on Tertullian is apparent.

Yet, as a rule, Tertullian preferred *gloria*. It is remarkable that Tertullian always translates *δόξα* by *gloria*, while in the African Bible-translations *δόξα* is usually rendered by *claritas*. In this connexion it is important to know that, as AALDERS has established for the quotations from the gospels, Tertullian himself translated from the Greek, although he was familiar with other translations<sup>4)</sup>. Moreover Tertullian had a fairly clear idea of biblical *δόξα*. Maybe he wanted a translation as literal as possible. But to this it may be added that he probably believed the biblical idea of *δόξα* to be connected with the idea of victory. However it is certain that light as a mystical factor played no great part with Tertullian, and that he was more attracted by the idea of renown than that of light.

*Maiestas* is used by Tertullian both in his theological-exegetical works and in his apologetic writings. It indicates a not clearly defined attribute, mostly assigned to God, though sometimes to a

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1) *Resurr.* 27,2 (C.Ch. II, 956,5-6).

2) *Scorp.* 12,8 (C.Ch. II, 1093,18).

3) *Orat.* 3,3 (C.Ch. I, 259,14-16); *resurr.* 49,5 (C.Ch. II, 990,18-23).

4) G. AALDERS, 'Tertullianus' citaten uit de evangeliën en de oudlatijnse bijbelvertalingen, p. 116 and 192; G. QUIPEL, *De bronnen van Tertullianus' Adv. Marc.*, p. 141.

holy place<sup>1)</sup>, the Bible<sup>2)</sup> and even to the emperor<sup>3)</sup>: eminence, majesty.

This *maiestas* is often associated with God's power: *maiestas divinae potestatis*<sup>4)</sup>, and particularly with God's judicial power<sup>5)</sup>. It is usually put beside other divine attributes: *gravitas, sanctitas, auctoritas*<sup>6)</sup>. Sometimes *summa maiestas, fastigium maiestatis* and *divina maiestas* signify *divinitas*<sup>7)</sup>; in all such cases, however, *maiestas* needs a further qualification. It is, therefore, by itself not yet an accepted term for divinity, as it will be later on. The usual word for it is still *divinitas*, at all events in *Apol.* 21. So it does not occur in a strictly biblical sense.

Tertullian also uses the terms *magnificare* and *magnificentia*<sup>8)</sup>.

*Maiestas* is still a profane term, whereas *claritas* is almost exclusively a biblical term; only in *claritas futura* it has a wider usage. *Gloria*, on the other hand, is a word, which is mostly used in a profane sense, but to which the Christians nevertheless have already given a content of its own. The innovations introduced by the Christians consist in this that *gloria* is primarily due to God, and that this *gloria* is acquired, especially, by martyrdom. This idea of Christian renown resulted from the interpretation of Scriptures as understood by the Latin Christians of the second century. In this word the ideal of perfection, as it obtained in the early centuries, finds its expression. *Gloria* indicates a greatness, which does not consist in being endowed with profound exegetical knowledge or a sharp theological mind, but especially in an incredibly strong faith and a wonderful heroism.

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1) *Adv. Marc.* 1,15,4 (C.Chr. I, 456,8).

2) *Apol.* 20,1 (C.Chr. I, 122,1); *adv. Prax.* 11,9 (C.Chr. II, 1172,61).

3) *Nat.* 1,17,2,4 (C.Chr. I, 36,27 and 37,4); *Apol.* 29,4 (C.Chr. I, 140,17); 33,2 (C.Chr. I, 143,7).

4) *Paenit.* 4,6 (C.Chr. I, 327,27); cf. *adv. Marc.* 2,27,1 (C.Chr. I, 505,25-26), *vim maiestatis suae intolerabilem utique humanae mediocritati*; *apol.* 24,3 (C.Chr. I, 133,14).

5) *Apol.* 18,3 (C.Chr. I, 118,10), *signa maiestatis suae iudicando*; *anim.* 33,2 (C.Chr. II, 832,17).

6) *Adv. Val.* 7,8 (C.Chr. II, 759,16); *anim.* 33,2 (C.Chr. II, 832,17).

7) *Adv. Marc.* 2,25,3 (C.Chr. I, 503,13); *nat.* 1,10,38 (C.Chr. I, 28,9).

8) *Resurr.* 10,4 (C.Chr. II, 933,18); *virg. vel.* 10,1 (C.Chr. II, 1209,4); *bapt.* 2,1 (C.Chr. I, 277,5).

## B. ST. CYPRIAN AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

### 1. *Gloria*.

In its strictly biblical sense *gloria* does not occur in St. Cyprian. This shows again that for St. Cyprian *gloria* meant renown. But how was the situation elsewhere about the year 250 A.D.? This question directs our attention to Rome, to Novatianus. In his *De trinitate* Novatianus repeatedly mentions the *gloria Dei*. As a rule, it is difficult to make out what his conception of it really was. But in one instance he gives us a clear idea of it. That is where he comments on the text: *in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum, et omnis lingua confiteatur quoniam Dominus Iesus in gloria est Dei Patris*<sup>1)</sup>. He then points out that Jesus is a name to which every creature bows: *et hoc ipsum in gloriam dei patris succurrere asseritur*<sup>2)</sup>. This commentary is not only interesting in connexion with its late-Latin disregard for the case-endings (he interprets *in gloria* as *in gloriam*), but shows clearly that *gloria Dei* in its biblical sense was unknown to Novatianus.

### 2. *Claritas*.

*Clarus* occurs in the profane sense of 'light', 'clear', also figuratively, as for instance in *claris vocibus*<sup>3)</sup>, *claro et igneo splendore (solis)*<sup>4)</sup>, *clara praedicatione*<sup>5)</sup>. It also has the meaning of famous, renowned, and in this sense, though with a Christian content of its own, it is used of the martyrs as a variation on *gloriosus*, e.g. *Confessio tamen praesens quantum in passione fortior, tantum clarior et maior in honore est: crevit pugna, crevit et pugnantium gloria*<sup>6)</sup>.

*Claritas* is not assigned to God. It is remarkable that the expression *claritas Dei* does not occur in St. Cyprian, but *claritudo Christi* does occur, although only once: *Inluminabat mundum sol oriens et luna decurrens: sed vobis idem qui solem fecit et lunam, maius in carcere lumen fuit et in corde ac mentibus vestris Christi*

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1) Paul. *Phil.* 2.11.

2) Novatian. *trin.* 22.

3) *Unit. eccl.* 3 (CSEL 3,1, p. 211,13).

4) *Demetr.* 3. (CSEL 3,1, p. 353,12).

5) *Demetr.* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 361,4).

6) *Epist.* 10,1 (CSEL 3,2, p. 490,8).



*claritudo splendens horribiles ceteris adque funestas poenalis loci tenebras aeterna illa et candida luce radiavit*<sup>1)</sup>). Why does St. Cyprian use *claritudo*? It is strange that in this text which lays such strong emphasis on the element of light, St. Cyprian does not use *claritas*, but *claritudo*. The probable reason is that *claritudo* was more suitable to express the meaning of light. This confirms our impression that St. Cyprian understood *claritas* primarily as renown.

So *claritas* is not assigned to God, but is used of martyrs and virgins. It often indicates their renown during their life-time, sometimes it is replaced by *gloria* by way of variation. In addition *claritas* is used to indicate the bliss and renown of the martyr in heaven: *regnorum caelestium claritas, claritas aeterna, futura claritas, superventura claritas*<sup>2)</sup>. In this sense it is often corroborated by Rom. 8.18, where St. Paul says: *non sunt condignae passionis huius temporis... etc.* In some instances, as we pointed out in the previous chapter, St. Cyprian attaches to heavenly *claritas* the same meaning as to *gloria*, i.e. that of high dignity and honour, consisting in being friends of God and the companions of patriarchs and apostles<sup>3)</sup>. He also uses the expression *claritatis gloriam*<sup>4)</sup>.

The element of light, therefore, is certainly not prominent, although it cannot be said to be completely absent in the concept of *claritas*. The following texts point in that direction: *Luceat in bonis operibus nostrum lumen et fulgeat, ut ipsum nos ad lucem claritatis aeternae de hac saeculi nocte perducatur*<sup>5)</sup>; and *Lucent in corpore glorioso clara vulnere signa*<sup>6)</sup>. In those texts, however, light used in the antithesis *lux vitae aeternae - saeculi nox*, and said of the radiating wounds, is taken in a figurative sense.

*Clarificare* occurs in the following meanings:

1. to lighten, in the literal sense, e.g. *clarificato die et sole oborto*<sup>7)</sup>. This is a profane meaning.
2. in a Christian sense:
  - A) in a scriptural meaning: the glorification of God by our actual

1) *Epist.* 37,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 577,11).

2) *Epist.* 76,7 (CSEL 3,2, p. 833,10); 6,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 482,16); *mort.* 22 (CSEL 3,1, p. 311,12).

3) *Epist.* 58,10 (CSEL 3,2, p. 665,10); *Fort.* 13 (CSEL 3,1, p. 346,12), cf. *supra* p. 72.

4) *Epist.* 6,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 482,18).

5) *Unit. eccl.* 27 (CSEL 3,1, p. 223,9).

6) *Epist.* 39,2 (CSEL 3,2, p. 582,23).

7) *Epist.* 59,11 (CSEL 3,2, p. 679,4).

conduct of life<sup>1</sup>). Both *clarificare* and *clarificatio* occur occasionally in St. Cyprian in this sense<sup>2</sup>).

B) in a non-scriptural meaning, but peculiar to St. Cyprian, it signifies 'to make renowned by martyrdom'. Writing to martyrs St. Cyprian says: *Quae quidem vobis . . . accidisse non miror, ut vos sic Deus ad gloriarum sublime fastigium clarificationis suae honore provexerit*<sup>3</sup>). Of his martyred fellow-bishops he says: *quibusdam locis animadversi caelestes coronas de Domini clarificatione sumpserunt*<sup>4</sup>). And just as God confers fame upon the martyr, so the martyr in his turn makes the community famous. St. Cyprian sees his own task thus: *Congruit episcopum in ea civitate in qua ecclesiae dominicae praeest, illic Dominum confiteri et plebem universam praepositi praesentis confessione clarificare*<sup>5</sup>).

Typical of St. Cyprian's ideas is that in the texts just quoted he speaks all the time of the glory which accrues to men — the martyrs and the Christian community —, and not of the glory which through the martyr accrues to God (although elsewhere he distinctly says that the glory of the martyr belongs to God and that in the martyr God crowns Himself)<sup>6</sup>).

Concluding we may say: *claritas* and *clarificatio* are never used in a profane sense, *clarificatio* is a Christian neologism<sup>7</sup>), and *claritas* is in St. Cyprian the exclusive epitheton of the Christian hero. *Clarus* and *clarificare* rarely have a profane meaning, and if so, they signify: light, clear, to make clear.

If those words are used in a Christian sense, the element of light is never prominent (except in *claritudo Christi*). Primarily they express renown or honour. But like *gloria* the meaning in which those words are used is, especially under biblical influence, connected with the broader idea of the all-comprising bliss of the martyr in heaven. Owing to etymological causes and to scriptural influences the word *claritas* implies the element of light, even though this be not its primary aspect.

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1) Cf. 1 Cor. 6,19, *Clarificemus et portemus Deum puro et mundo corpore et observatione meliore; hab. virg. 2* (CSEL 3,1, p. 188,20).

2) *Zel. 15* (CSEL 3,1, p. 429,17); *hab. virg. 2* (CSEL 3,1, p. 188,20).

3) *Epist. 76,1* (CSEL 3,2, p. 828,15).

4) *Epist. 66,7* (CSEL 3,2, p. 731,23).

5) *Epist. 81* (CSEL 3,2, p. 841,8).

6) *Epist. 10,4* (CSEL 3,2, p. 494,10-12).

7) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des h. Augustin*, p. 171.

### 3. *Maiestas*.

*Maiestas* is very frequently used by St. Cyprian and still has the same general, abstract meaning as in Tertullian: eminence, majesty. It belongs principally to God and implies His power, which is manifested in the *magnalia Dei*<sup>1)</sup>, notably by protecting the just<sup>2)</sup>, punishing the sinners, and inspiring every one with respect and fear<sup>3)</sup>. Christ too possessed the *maiestas divina*, which He showed in *miracula virtutum*<sup>4)</sup>; on the cross, however, His *maiestas* remained hidden<sup>5)</sup>. The pagan gods are challenged by St. Cyprian: *ipsi se sua maiestate defendant*<sup>6)</sup>.

*Maiestas* is also ascribed to the *ecclesia catholica*<sup>7)</sup>. St. Cyprian speaks of the *fidelis atque incorrupta maiestas* of the catholic people, elsewhere of the *angelica maiestas*<sup>8)</sup> of the devil before his fall, and even of a *iuvenis honore et maiestate venerabilis*<sup>9)</sup>. Those texts clearly show that *maiestas* without such an adjective as *divina* does, by itself, not yet signify divinity.

Although the above-quoted texts are reminiscent of Holy Scripture, *maiestas* is nowhere used in a biblical-concrete sense. But we do meet with *maiestas* in an eschatological connexion, viz. as the *claritas* and *maiestas* with which Christ will appear at the end of the world<sup>10)</sup>. In view of the content, however, which St. Cyprian gives to *gloria* and *claritas*, we are not justified in taking *maiestas* in the sense of a radiant appearance here.

In broad outlines therefore *maiestas* still retains its classical sound and colour.

The content of both *gloria* and *claritas* has been deflected by St. Cyprian to the idea of renown; at the same time he has adapted these ideas to his own conception of Christian perfection and heroism. This may partly be explained by the fact that St. Cyprian did not completely understand the biblical concept *δόξα*, and partly

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1) *Epist.* 11,8 (CSEL 3,2, p. 501,22).

2) *Epist.* 55,9 (CSEL 3,2, p. 631,3).

3) *Laps.* 35 (CSEL 3,1, p. 262,17).

4) *Patient.* 6 (CSEL 3,1, p. 401,8).

5) *Patient.* 7 (CSEL 3,1, p. 402,24).

6) *Demetr.* 14 (CSEL 3,1, p. 361,10).

7) *Epist.* 59,9 (CSEL 3,2, p. 676,15); 68,2 (CSEL 3,2 p. 745,18).

8) *Zel.* 4 (CSEL 3,1, p. 421,9).

9) *Mort.* 19 (CSEL 3,1, p. 309,3).

10) *Epist.* 63,19 (CSEL 3,2, p. 717,2).

by the fact that he was greatly captivated by the ideas of renown and victory.

### C. St. AMBROSE

In the works of St. Ambrose we find not only a spontaneous expression of his Christian view of life and his religious fervour, but also a fairly large quantity of undigested material, which he had gathered by assiduous study from the Greek Fathers of the Church. He had diligently studied the Bible and Greek theology, but not always grasped the real meaning; nor had this study always inspired him to an independent thinking<sup>1</sup>). Accordingly his numerous borrowings from Greek sources are mostly superficial. His originality, as far as it can be ascertained in his work, does not show itself so much in deep theological reflexion, as in a Roman, stoic *gravitas* and a certain naturalness, which often make his writings and even his allegorical way of exegesis appear breezy and easy.

It is remarkable that after having been made a bishop St. Ambrose did not turn to St. Cyprian and Tertullian for theology, but to the Greek Fathers. This means that in some respects he caused a breach in the early-Christian tradition of the Latin Church. His lack of originality started a new phase in the influence of the East on Western thought and also on Christian Latin. Furthermore, he lived at a time and in a milieu in which Neoplatonism was the accepted thing, not only with very many heathens, but also with several prominent orthodox Christians. Especially Milan became, partly owing to his influence, a centre of Christian-Neoplatonists in his time<sup>2</sup>). Whatever one may say of the influence of Neoplatonism on St. Ambrose or whatever one may think of its value, it is evident that St. Ambrose borrows much from Plotinos and Porphyrios in his commentaries on God and the life hereafter<sup>3</sup>).

All those factors must be considered when dealing with the idea of *δόξα* as St. Ambrose conceived it. His study of the Scriptures and the Greek exegists had made him very conversant with the

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1) B. ALTANER, *Patrologie*, p. 332; DUDDEN II, 555-556.

2) A. MANDOUZE, *L'Extase d'Ostie*, Augustinus Magister, I Communications, Paris 1954, p. 82.

3) Cf. P. COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions de St. Augustin*, p. 107ff.

idea of  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  and given him a correct grasp of its content; sometimes he brings the aspect of light into greater prominence, sometimes that of power. He shows much insight in interpreting even intricate texts which often cause difficulties to commentators. He comments for instance on II Cor. 15.18 as follows: *hoc est, qui ad Dominum sumus ante conversi, ut spiritali intellectu quasi in quodam speculo Scripturarum Domini gloriam videremus, nunc ab hac gloria quae nos convertit ad Dominum, in illam coelestem gloriam transformamur*<sup>1</sup>). St. Ambrose even sees  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  as the central idea of St. Paul's epistles, and says that St. Paul *montem esse speculatorium, per quem Christi gloriam cognoscimus et videmus*<sup>2</sup>). On the other hand we have to observe that this insight does not always receive due consideration, especially as a consequence of the exegetical views of St. Ambrose, who followed the allegorical method of Philo and Origin in every respect<sup>3</sup>). Although the allegorical method had been in use before in the West, with St. Ambrose the allegory assumes a special significance: 'il lui a donné une importance spéciale, parce qu'elle lui permettait de multiplier à l'infini, à propos des textes, les considérations édifiantes, et de combattre efficacement les hérétiques auxquels il avait affaire'<sup>4</sup>). In addition to the influence of the allegorical exegesis there is still another factor, viz. his exegesis is based on feeling rather than on correct linguistic knowledge. Thus he attacks the Arians with II Cor. 1.3 (*Pater gloriae*): *Num enim duos filios habuit Deus Christum et gloriam? Ergo si unus Dei filius Christus, utique Christus est gloria*<sup>5</sup>). He does not object to  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  in Is. 17.4 being understood as *opinio*: *Sicut ergo clarificatur per Patrem, ita etiam propter Patrem vivit. Unde et quidam  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  opinionem magis putaverunt esse, quam gloriam; et ideo sic interpretati sunt: Ego te clarificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi; et nunc clarifica me, Pater, hoc est,  $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ , ut sit hic sensus: Ego opinionem de te hominibus huiusmodi infudi, ut cognoscant te Deum verum; et tu hanc de me confirma illis opinionem, ut credant me tuum Filium et Deum verum*<sup>6</sup>).

1) *Spir.* 3,14,102 (PL 16,800 D-801 A).

2) *In psalm.* 47,5,3 (CSEL 64, p. 350,8).

3) ALTANER 333; DUDDEN II, 457ff.

4) DE LABRIOLLE—BARDY 408.

5) *Fid.* 5,8,102 (PL 16,669 BC).

6) *Fid.* 4,10,136-137 (PL 16,643 BC).

## 1. *Gloria Dei.*

Although St. Ambrose sometimes dwells on the abstract attributes of God, usually relying on other authors and sometimes translating long passages, his conception of God has predominantly concrete traits. He continually emphasizes the fact that God is a pure Spirit; he was the first to make St. Augustine see this<sup>1)</sup>. And yet, his idea of God is not purely abstract, on the contrary, it agrees completely with the scriptural conceptions of God, and therefore has its seat primarily in the sphere of experience.

Light is an important element in his conception of God: *deus lux est, tantumque abest a caligantium honore tenebrarum, ut adversarius in eo locum habere non possit... Dominus autem quasi pius inlustrat servolos et eorum fulgentibus meritis et claritate virtutum tenebras mundi huius inluminat*<sup>2)</sup>. In the darkness of this world His light shines, therefore, in the *claritas virtutum* of His servants. Our eyes would not be able to bear His light: *quomodo dei gloriam humanorum ferret corruptela membrorum?*<sup>3)</sup>. Therefore St. Ambrose assumes that in the Old Testament theophanies it was not God Himself who appeared, but His angel<sup>4)</sup>. Only after this life shall we see His own *claritas*, then we shall see the *interna mysteria*, (*videre*) *ipsam requiem Verbi, ipsam boni illius summi habitationem, et lucem eius et claritatem*<sup>5)</sup>. As those texts make clear, the light of God is contrasted with the darkness of the devil, who is sometimes clothed in the appearance of false light: *Transfigurat autem se simulatione falsae lucis, non splendore perpetuae claritatis*<sup>6)</sup>.

To express this element of light St. Ambrose prefers the word *claritas*; in the text just quoted *claritas* signifies the light of God in contrast to *lux*, the light of the devil. *Gloria* may also stand for light, especially under scriptural influences<sup>7)</sup>, but this word usually has a wider meaning and signifies the full splendour of the divine Being. So *claritas* is the technical term for God's light,

1) DUDDEN II, 562; cf. Aug. conf. 6,4,4.

2) Nab. 14,62 (CSEL 32,2 p. 506,2-11); cf. UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD, *Le Légende orientale sui magi evangelici*, p. 59.

3) In Luc. 7,17 (CSEL 32,4, p. 289,22).

4) Cf. in psalm. 118 serm. 8,17,2 (CSEL 62, p. 160,13-14).

5) Epist. 29,11 (PL 16,1057 A).

6) Iob 2,4,16 CSEL 32,2, p. 242,21).

7) E.g. off. 2,29,147, *splendor gloriae*.

and as such is distinguished from the neutral *lux* as well as from *gloria*, which has a wider meaning.

This emphasis on God's light betrays the influence of the Bible and of Neoplatonism. That the influence of the Bible prevailed is already apparent from the term *claritas*. *Lux* is the pagan term for the light of the gods, and is used by St. Ambrose for the light of demons and pagan gods. Reference will again be made to the vision of God's light in the life hereafter, when we shall deal with the eschatological glory.

When there is mention of God's power, St. Ambrose usually expresses it by *maiestas*. He often uses this word and applies it exclusively to God: *maiestas supernae virtutis*<sup>1)</sup>. In the same breath he mentions God's *potestas regia et maiestas aeterna*<sup>2)</sup>. Especially in the Hexaemeron he often refers to the *maiestas Dei*, which created the universe, governs and preserves it: *Momento suae voluntatis maiestatem tantae operationis inplevit*<sup>3)</sup>, *profundum maiestatis eius et artis excellentiam non queo comprehendere*<sup>4)</sup>, *Non mirum si deus, qui omnia virtute sua continet et inconprehensibili maiestate universa complectitur, fecit haec quae videntur, cum etiam illa fecerit quae non videntur*<sup>5)</sup>. The same *excellencia*, *profunditas* and *inconprehensibilitas* mark the knowledge and omniscience which, together with power, belong to the *maiestas Dei*: *Quodsi tanta est dei et tam aeterna maiestas, ut unus ex passeribus aut nostrorum numerus capillorum praeter scientiam dei non sit, quam indignum est aestimare, quod fidelium corda deus aut ignoret aut spernat, qui viliora cognoscat!*<sup>6)</sup>.

In the fourth century, however, the essence of God is not only the object of exalted speculation and fervent adoration, but more often the subject of vehement theological disputes with all the intrigues that sometimes inevitably seem to attend them. At this juncture the dispute was about the doctrine of the Trinity and

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1) *Fid.* 4,4,45 (PL 16,626 A).

2) *Fug. saec.* 2,9 (CSEL 32,2, p. 169,9).

3) *Hex.* 1,3,8 CSEL 32,1, p. 7,20).

4) *Hex.* 1,6,22 (CSEL 32,1, p. 20,14).

5) *Hex.* 1,3,9 CSEL 32,1, p. 8,8).

6) *In Luc.* 7,111 (CSEL 32,4, p. 328,16); cf. *hex.* 6,2,7 (CSEL 32,1, p. 208,17). *Quis igitur aequalem sibi cum deo audet scientiam vindicare, ut, quae deus maiestatis suae esse proprio signavit oraculo, haec sibi homo ad cognitionem suppetere posse praesumat?*

christology; some points were gradually brought to clarity by the Arian controversy, notably the relation between the Father and the Son, the divinity of the Son, and, at a later stage, the doctrine that the Son proceeds from the Father. Those involved in the controversy naturally had to recourse to the Scriptures in order to arm themselves with conclusive arguments. In doing so, frequent use was made of the terms *gloria* and *maiestas* (very rarely of *claritas*) without otherwise bringing much clarity in the matter. For since those terms belonged to the religious sphere of life rather than to the domain of theological thought, they did not yield the necessary intellectual exactitude. They did not evoke an abstract idea, but a concrete representation. This mental representation of the *gloria Dei* charged with the religious emotionality of the Old Testament and three centuries of Christianity, was no material ready for use in the subtle disputes of fourth-century theologians. Though the disputes were often of an emotional nature, this emotionality was mostly of a character different from the religious emotionality displayed in the Scriptures. The consequence of this was, on the one hand, that theological writers tried to transform those terms into abstract ideas and so make them fit in with their systems of ideas, and on the other hand that the words *gloria* and *maiestas* still remained somewhat strange and vague terms side by side with such terms as *persona*, *substantia*, *ousia* etc. Yet they fulfil an important function in the theological writings concerned; they represent the connexion with Christian revelation, the Scriptures, and imparted to the theological disputes a certain solemnity which in many other respects was often wanting.

To indicate the relation of Father to Son St. Ambrose usually starts from the expressions *splendor paternae gloriae* and *character substantiae eius*<sup>1)</sup>. From this point of departure he arrives at more narrowly defined indications such as *expressio maiestatis*<sup>2)</sup> and *splendor lucis aeternae et manatio omnipotentis gloriae*<sup>3)</sup>. *Nihil in eo divinae maiestatis intellegas esse divisum, sed omnia accepisse a patre filium et omnis gloriae paternae filium splendorem esse cognoscas*<sup>4)</sup>. *Imago quoque et splendor et character dicitur Dei filius, quia haec incomprehensibilem et investigabilem paternae*

1) Paul. *Hebr.* 1.3.

2) *Incar.* 10,110 (PL 16,845 A).

3) *Parad.* 1,6 (CSEL 32,1, p. 267,18).

4) *In psalm.* 47,18 (CSEL 64, p. 358,3).



*maiestatis divinitatem in Filio, et expressam similitudinem revelarunt*<sup>1)</sup>.

In *De Spiritu sancto* he defends the full *maiestas* of the Holy Ghost: *si vero cum Spiritu dicant Dei vel virtutem esse, vel gloriam, societatem quandam et communionem Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti designare videantur*<sup>2)</sup>. — *Tantam, ut dixi, maiestatem eius accepimus, ut tamquam digitus a corpore, ita a Deo patre inseparabilis videatur Spiritus sanctus*<sup>3)</sup>. — *An negamus etiam Dominum maiestatis esse Spiritum sanctum, cum Dominus maiestatis sit crucifixus, qui natus est de Spiritu ex virgine Maria?*<sup>4)</sup>.

Concurrently with the distinction between the divine Persons St. Ambrose always emphasizes the indissoluble unity of *gloria*. In such cases *gloria* or *maiestas*, when used by the side of *potestas*, *virtus* and *operatio*, often stands for God's inward splendour and His Essence in Its aspects without a definite conception being attached to it<sup>5)</sup>. But frequently *gloria* and *maiestas* simply indicate the divine nature, the *divinitas*<sup>6)</sup>. *Claritas* also is occasionally used in this sense. In the following text for instance it is equivalent to *divinitas*: *Non est ergo minor in claritate, quia una gloria: non minor divinitate, quia plenitudo divinitatis in Christo est*<sup>7)</sup>. But in this sense *maiestas* is far more frequent: *Alius pater, alius filius, sed quia in una sede sedent, una maiestate potiuntur*<sup>8)</sup>. — *Imago enim et operatio et similitudo communis quid aliud nisi maiestatis eiusdem significat unitatem*<sup>9)</sup>. — *Una igitur visio, una praeceptio, una maiestas*<sup>10)</sup>. — *Si autem una operatio, una utique operationis potestas et maiestas una factorum est*<sup>11)</sup>. The following text very clearly shows the abstract meaning of *gloria*: *Alia natura carnis, alia divinitatis gloria*<sup>12)</sup>. Also in the following words *maiestas* has

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1) *Fid.* 2 prolog. 8 (PL 16,561 B).

2) *Spir.* 2,8,70 (PL 16,758 B).

3) *Spir.* 3,5,29 (PL 16,783 B).

4) *Spir.* 3,22,168 (PL 16,815 A).

5) *Gloria*: *fid.* 1,15,96 (PL 16,551 A), *Gloria Patrem significat*; *fid.* 2,10,85 (PL 16,578 C); *incarn.* 10,109 (PL 16,844 D). *Maiestas*: *incarn.* 10,112 (PL 16,845 C); *spir.* 3,12,86 (PL 16,797 B).

6) *Gloria*: *epist.* 23,22 (PL 16,1035 B); *fid.* 3,10,65 (PL 16,603 B). *Maiestas*: *epist.* 48,4 (PL 16,1152 C); *incarn.* 10,110 (PL 16,845 A).

7) *Fid.* 2,9,82 (PL 16,577 D-578 A).

8) *Apol. Dav.* II, 4,27 (CSEL 32,2, p. 374,19).

9) *Spir.* 2 prolog. 2 (PL 743 B).

10) *Spir.* 3,22,168 (PL 16,815 A).

11) *Apol. Dav.* II, 12,62 (PL 16,401,5).

12) *In Luc.* 2,42 (CSEL 32,4, p. 64,14).

this abstract meaning: *Animam, dixit, non divinitatem; animam, non maiestatem*<sup>1)</sup>.

This abstract meaning originated in technical language of theology and its occurrence is most frequent there. As the christological problems agitated the minds of the Christians as a whole, this meaning also found its way into the sermons and even into the liturgy. In a letter about the date of Easter St. Ambrose says: *Sumamus ferventi spiritu sacramentum in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis, pia doctrina gloriam Patris et Filii, et Spiritus maiestatem individuum concinentes*<sup>2)</sup>. Here St. Ambrose clearly refers to the communal singing of the faithful in the Paschal liturgy. From this text it may also be concluded that the doxology had acquired a dogmatic meaning and was understood in a trinitarian-christological sense.

The words *gloria* and *maiestas* therefore acquired a place of their own in the doctrine of the Trinity and in christology. The meaning they have there developed from biblical usage, but differs considerably from the scriptural meaning. The visual element and especially the epiphanic character disappeared. Instead we have a speculative meaning which is more narrowly defined: *natura divina, divinitas*. Yet they retain a sacred and hieratic sphere, which is in sharp contrast with the sober exactitude and profane origin of such words as *persona* and *ousia*. St. Ambrose himself must have felt this when, with reference to the word *personaliter*, he remarked: *si tamen dignum hoc verbum est maiestatis expressione divinae*<sup>3)</sup>, especially as this word reminded him of the theatres, which he deeply abhorred.

## 2. *Gloria Christi.*

### a. *Gloria divinitatis.*

In all his theological discussions of Christ St. Ambrose proceeds from the proposition that Christ is first and foremost the Son of God and as such is in possession of full *gloria*: *Solus enim Christus est plena imago dei propter expressam in se paternae claritudinis unitatem*<sup>4)</sup>. This *gloria* was not impaired by the incarnation; on

1) *Fid.* 5,15,186 (PL 16,686 B).

2) *Epist.* 23,22 (PL 16,1035 B).

3) *Spir.* 3,11,81 (PL 16,795 B).

4) *In Luc.* 10,49 (CSEL 32,4, p. 474,11): *claritudo* is for St. Ambrose a more literary word than *claritas*.

the contrary, human nature was elevated by it: *obumbravit Mariae, ut transfiguraret corpus humilitatis nostrae conforme fieri corpori gloriae suae*<sup>1)</sup>. St. Ambrose repeatedly emphasizes that Christ is truly God and remained in full possession of His Godhead in spite of the *humilitas carnis*. On the other hand, he repudiates every form of Doketism as regards the humanity of Christ: *Nec deposuit quod erat, sed reservavit, nec desivit esse in forma dei, sed perseveravit, non inminuta per susceptionem corporis dei gloria, sed manente triumphum adquisivit, potentiam non amisit*<sup>2)</sup>. — *Caro est quae involvitur, divinitas cui ab angelis ministratur. Ita nec dignitas naturalis maiestatis amittitur, et assumptae carnis veritas comprobatur*<sup>3)</sup>. So the *exinanitio* of the *Verbum* consisted in this that He assumed what was below Him, but did not surrender what He was<sup>4)</sup>.

This divine *gloria* was indeed clothed in His humanity and hidden, but at every turn in His life His majesty revealed itself, especially in the miracles wrought by His divine power, and first of all in being born of a virgin: *Solus enim per omnia ex natis de femina sanctus dominus Iesus, qui terrenae contagia corruptelae immaculati partus novitate non senserit et caelesti maiestate depulerit*<sup>5)</sup>. But St. Ambrose also sees a sign of Christ's divine majesty in the fact that He commands nature and that the winds obey Him: *Non est enim doctrina humana, sicut audistis Iudaeos dicere: 'Verbo inperat spiritibus' (Luc. 4.36), sed caelestis maiestatis insigne*<sup>6)</sup>. *In solutione Sabbati*<sup>7)</sup> and in the demonstration of power in the Garden of Olives<sup>8)</sup> Christ shows His divine power, in St. Ambrose always indicated by *maiestas*. The *miracula Christi*, often depicted by the early Christians and appreciated epiphanically, give evidence of it: *virtus de eo exhibat, quae vulnera sauciorum maiestatis suae auctoritate sanabat*<sup>9)</sup>.

Christ's passion and humiliating death on the cross were especially adduced by the heretics as evidence against the divinity

1) In psalm. 118 *serm.* 3,9 (CSEL 62, p. 46,2); cf. Paul. *Phil.* 3.21.

2) In psalm. 61,28 (CSEL 64, p. 395,4).

3) *Fid.* 1,4,32 (PL 16,535 C).

4) *Fid.* 2,8,62 (PL 16,573 A); cf. *fid.* 5,14,179 (PL 16,684 C), *subjectionem nostram ipse suscepit, sed in servilis formae assumptione, non in Dei maiestate.*

5) In *Luc.* 2,56 (CSEL 32,4, p. 72,16): in this and the following texts *maiestas* is used.

6) In *Luc.* 4,69 (CSEL 32,2, p. 174,15); cf. *Luc.* 4.36.

7) *Fid.* 2,8,68 (PL 16,574 A).

8) In *Luc.* 10,65 (CSEL 32,4, p. 480,20).

9) *Fid.* 5,18,222 (PL 16,695 A); cf. *Luc.* 6.19.

of Christ. Hence St. Ambrose queries how it was possible that the *Rex gloriae* was crucified, to which he replies himself: *Nec moveat quia potentem Filium dixit hominis, cum Dominum maiestatis legeris crucifixum*<sup>1)</sup>. For He suffered not in His divinity, but in His humanity: *Dominum maiestatis crucifixum esse, non quasi in maiestate sua crucifixum putemus*<sup>2)</sup>. His divinity remained intact: *nec humilitas maiestatis illa, sed carnis*<sup>3)</sup>. With feelings of piety St. Ambrose therefore exhorts the faithful Christian not to stand at the tomb of Christ shaken in faith, but with the solicitude and love of the women who buried Him: *Vesti ergo et tu Domini corpus gloria sua, ut et ipse sis iustus, etsi mortuum credis, operi tamen divinitatis plenitudine suae*<sup>4)</sup>.

So we observe that St. Ambrose uses both *gloria* and *maiestas* to denote the *divinitas Christi*. *Maiestas* often has the additional meaning of power. Its usage occurs mainly in theological discussions of the divinity of Christ, but also in his other writings St. Ambrose touches on this controversy.

#### b. *Gloria Passionis et Resurrectionis.*

This *gloria* designated the return of Christ to His divine splendour. At the same time, His death on the cross was a victory and a manifestation of power. Here different ideas meet, viz. the antithesis of the humiliation of the cross and the redemption as an effect of His power, likewise the antithesis of the *opprobrium crucis* and the victory over the devil, next the interpretation of the cross as being the road to heavenly glory, while this entry into heaven is often interpreted as the triumphal entry of a conqueror into his real kingdom. In the redemption Christ showed His power on the cross: *Erat vermis in cruce, sed idem dimittebat peccata etiam persecutorum suorum. Erat opprobrium, sed idem maiestas Domini*<sup>5)</sup>. — *Ille enim suscepit opprobrium crucis, ut nos gloriam suae resurrectionis indueret*<sup>6)</sup>. With regard to the idea of renown, in so far as St. Ambrose associated it with the victory of the cross, reference is made to the previous part where we

1) *Fid.* 3,4,33 (PL 16,596 B).

2) *Fid.* 2,7,58 (PL 16,571 BC).

3) *Apol. Dav.* 2,7,39 (CSEL 32,2, p. 384,4).

4) *In Luc.* 10,137 (CSEL 32,4, p. 507,13).

5) *Epist.* 46,5 (PL 16,1147 B); cf. p. 126, the Body of Christ is sometimes referred to as *tropaeum*.

6) *In psalm.* 43,88,2 (CSEL 64, p. 324,21).

described Christ as the *Rex gloriae triumphum portans propriae passionis*<sup>1)</sup>. St. Ambrose sees Christ covered with glory return to His kingdom: *Veniebat enim novis victor redimitus exuviis Dominus in templo suo; ... quasi eum quem coeli portae capere non possent*<sup>2)</sup>; there is also the other picture of Christ as *resurgens in gloriam dei divinaeque sedis regale consortium*<sup>3)</sup>. We are not prepared to maintain that St. Ambrose made these distinctions as explicitly as this, which does not alter the fact that those different aspects were really there. These views partly overlap each other, and because of the plurivalent character of *gloria* the expression *gloria passionis et resurrectionis* usually covers several aspects, notably the intrinsic power of Christ as God, His glory and His victory over the devil, the light of His glorified Body, of which sometimes one aspect and sometimes another comes to the fore.

### c. *Claritas Solis aeterni.*

As we have already said, the light-motif in St. Ambrose's idea of God received special emphasis. This is even more true of his idea of Christ<sup>4)</sup>. In St. Ambrose's writings Christ is not described principally as a victor wearing the ancient triumphal insignia, nor as the High Priest of the New Covenant, as the epistle to the Hebrews depicts Him, not even as the historical Messiah who went about preaching and working miracles. To St. Ambrose Christ was primarily the *lumen aeternum*, not only because from all eternity He possessed the *gloria divina*, but also because He made His light shine in the darkness, had taken away man's blindness and had made him partner of His splendour: *Est enim fulgor aeternus animarum, quem ideo Pater misit in terras, ut eius inluminati vultu aeterna et caelestia spectare possimus, qui ante terrena caligine tenebamur*<sup>5)</sup>. Christ is the Sun that warms and fosters every one, that makes His light shine upon all people and makes the stars grow pale; He is the *Sol iustitiae* whom Malachy had predicted (*Mal.* 4.2).

1) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 12,14 (CSEL 62, p. 239,22); cf. in *Luc.* 7,12 (CSEL 32,4, p. 287,24), *in cruce positum triumphantem de morte videas.*

2) *Fid.* 4,1,6 (PL 16,618 C), *Veniebat enim novis victor redimitus exuviis, Dominus in templo sancto suo; praeibant angeli et archangeli, mirantes spoliū ex morte quaesitum: ... tropaea crucis, cuius principium super humeros eius, et triumphatoris aeterni manubias intuentes...*

3) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 3,24 (CSEL 62, p. 55,8).

4) DUDDEN II, 603ff.

5) In *psalm.* 43,87 (CSEL 64, p. 325,12-15).

This is the picture of Christ as He constantly appears in the writings of St. Ambrose, and it occurs so frequently that it determines the conception of His appearance and significance. Therefore we shall first investigate how St. Ambrose considers this picture in detail, what value and meaning he attaches to it. His line of thought may be summed up, we believe, under five headings: Christ as the life-giving sun; as the sun and source of all virtue; as the light of all understanding and knowledge; the universality of the light of Christ; the Church as the moon receiving its light from Christ and His saints as the stars.

1. Before Christ came down to earth, it was dark and cold here. His coming meant light and warmth, the beginning spring, new life: *ante adventum Christi hiems erat, post adventum Christi flores sunt veris*<sup>1)</sup>. — *Ortus ex virgine processit ex alvo, universa totius orbis irradians, ut luceret omnibus*<sup>2)</sup>. — *Quis iste sol nisi qui dies fecit fulgere iustitiae, quibus in terra natus est Christus ex virgine?*<sup>3)</sup>. — *Hic ergo est dies quem inluminavit sol ille iustitiae; nam et ipse ortus suos et occasus habere consuevit*<sup>4)</sup>. He was the *sol novus*<sup>5)</sup>, the new light, which like a flower sprang from the virgin's womb: *'ex germine mihi ascendisti', eo quod tamquam frutex terrae in alvo virginis germinaverit et ut flos boni odoris ad redemptionem mundi totius maternis visceribus splendore novae lucis emissus ascenderit*<sup>6)</sup>.

But by coming into this world, the new light clothed itself in the shadows of a body, the Sun of justice emptied Himself that man might not be blinded, but see and know Him: *Si tam gratus est sol consors et particeps creaturae, quam bonus est sol ille iustitiae! ... Si magnus est qui per horarum vices locis aut accedit aut decedit cotidie, qualis ille qui etiam cum se exinaniret, ut nos eum possemus videre, erat lumen verum, quod inluminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum!*<sup>7)</sup>. He appeared in the shadow of a body, in the darkness of this world: *Non enim hic vita perfecta est, sed haec vita in umbra. Ideo, ut homo Christus*

1) Hex. 4,5,22 (CSEL 32,1, p. 129,21).

2) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,13 (CSEL 62, p. 258,25-26).

3) In psalm. 43,6 (CSEL 64, p. 263,26-264,1).

4) In psalm. 43,6 (CSEL 64, p. 263,11-16), *hic ergo est dies, quem inluminavit sol ille iustitiae, nam et ipse ortus suos et occasus habere consuevit.*

5) Iob 1,5,14 (CSEL 32,2, p. 219,9).

6) Patr. 4,19 (CSEL 32,2 p. 135,9-13).

7) Hex. 4,1,2 (CSEL 32,1, p. 111,24-112,6).

*Iesus ex virgine nasceretur, obumbravit virtus altissimi matrem futuram, quia in umbra descendit, ab umbra incipiens operari salutem hominis*<sup>1)</sup>). The Light emptied Himself to fight the *Sol iniquitatis* and to bring about man's salvation: *factus est igitur exinanitus umbra pro nobis, quos sol iniquitatis exusserat*<sup>2)</sup>). Even though the Light did not show outwardly, He was always a blessing to people; power went out of Him: *per umbram lepra curata est, per umbram quoque illius feminae, quae fimbriam vestis dominicae attigit, sanguis stetit*<sup>3)</sup>). He also suffered and brought redemption, but sufferings could not impair the eternal light: *Per umbram te vidimus, quando non habebas speciem neque decorem. Umbra tua caro fuit, quae nostrarum aestus refrigeravit cupiditatum*<sup>4)</sup>). Therefore the Christians pray *sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me* (psalm. 16.8). For His shadow is not an *umbra mortis*<sup>5)</sup> but an *umbra salutis: umbra quidem, quia corporis est, umbra, quia crucis, sed umbra salutis, quia in ea erat peccatorum remissio et resuscitatio mortuorum*<sup>6)</sup>).

Thus the *Sol iustitiae* had clothed Himself in shadows, thus the Sun had gone down, when Christ died on the cross and the sun eclipsed<sup>7)</sup>. But the Sun was to return, after three days He would rise again with new splendour: *resurget dominus in nocte, et erit dies in lumine resurgentis*<sup>8)</sup>. And the earthly sun hastened its course the sooner to be able to behold the true Sun, saying to itself: *festinare debeo etiam ipse ad novam vitam: erit enim beneficio crucis, quo universa renovantur, et sol novus et caelum novum. Festino ergo ut illum possim videre solem iustitiae inluminantem animas universorum*<sup>9)</sup>. Thus He brought the new light and new life; this makes it clear to us why He descended into darkness: *in umbra descendit, ab umbra incipiens operari salutem hominis et consummaturus claritate solis aeterni*<sup>10)</sup>. To this St. Ambrose immediately adds the exhortation: *Umbra est ergo vita haec; festina ad solem, ut te defendat ab umbrae huius frigore et calorem tibi*

1) In psalm. 118 serm. 5,36 (CSEL 62, p. 102,1-4).

2) In psalm. 118 serm. 19,6 (CSEL 62, p. 425,4-5).

3) In psalm. 118 serm. 19,5 (CSEL 62, p. 424,18-20).

4) In psalm. 118 serm. 19,5 (CSEL 62, p. 424,20-22).

5) Hex. 4,5,22 (CSEL 32,1, p. 129,25).

6) Hex. 4,5,22 (CSEL 32,1, p. 130,5-8).

7) Iob 1,5,14 (CSEL 32,2, p. 219,2).

8) Iob 1,5,14 (CSEL 32,2 p. 219,23).

9) Iob 1,5,14 (CSEL 32,2 p. 219,6-11).

10) In psalm. 118 serm. 5,36 (CSEL 62, p. 102,4-6).

*profundat aestivum*. And elsewhere he says: *Veni, domine Iesu, sed iam non in umbra, sed in sole iustitiae. Si umbra profuit, si passionis tuae umbra protexit, si corporis umbra salvavit, quantum conferre poterit claritas aperta virtutis*<sup>1)</sup>.

From these texts it appears that to St. Ambrose the light of Christ was in the first place the *Sol iustitiae, qui oriens et resurgens inluminat*<sup>2)</sup>. The idea of Christ being the sun that gives light and life is inseparably connected in St. Ambrose with the historical salvific facts of His birth and His rising from the dead, His *ortus ex virgine* and His *resurrectio*. It is remarkable that St. Ambrose, speaking of the *sol oriens*, always mentions the *ortus ex virgine* and so emphasizes the historical fact of this *ortus*.

2. The sun was not only the symbol of Christ, who was born and rose again from the dead in order to bring life and redemption to all, but the *sol iustitiae* was also the symbol of the *puritas mentis*, the *innocentiae custodia* and the *virtutum meditatio*: *Meridies est ei cui iustitiae sol refulget et cuius opere bono vel cogitationibus innoxius et pura mente atque sincera pascitur Christus*<sup>3)</sup>. — *Ubi enim vera est fides, ibi veri luminis gratia est; ubi innocentiae prolixior custodia virtutumque longa meditatione processus, ubi splendor bonae conscientiae diu permanens, ibi intelligibilis est meridies*<sup>4)</sup>. The opposite is expressed in the following text quoted already by DÖLGER: *inpugnaverunt me corporis passionēs, carnis illecebrae colorarunt; ideo mihi sol iustitiae non refulsit*<sup>5)</sup>. Christ came upon earth to set us an example. But He is not only our model, but also *Iustitia* itself<sup>6)</sup>: *Sunt ergo dies Christi quibus orta iustitia est, sunt dies Christi quibus orta est pacis abundantia, sunt dies Christi quibus orta sapientia*<sup>7)</sup>. Man should take care not to expel the light by sin: *Videte ne sol occidat super avaritiam vestram, ne sol iustitiae vobis occidat, quia iustitiam non tenetis, aut sol iniquitatis super flagitia vestra condatur*<sup>8)</sup>.

1) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 19,5 (CSEL 62, p. 424,16-18).

2) *Isaac* 4,30 (CSEL 32,1, p. 660,18-19). With St. Ambrose Rhetoric undoubtedly played an important part in this light-mysticism.

3) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 19,5 (CSEL 62, p. 424,18).

4) In *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 8,51 (CSEL 62, p. 182,6-15).

5) *Isaac* 4,13 (CSEL 32,1, p. 652,4-5).

6) DUDDEN II, 604: "by representing in Himself the 'sum of all virtues' (ps. 40.1)".

7) In *psalm.* 43,6 (CSEL 64, p. 263,14-16); cf. in *psalm.* 38,24 (CSEL 64, p. 202,14-21).

8) *Tob.* 14,27 (CSEL 32,2, p. 545,12-16).



3. The sun is also the symbol of Christ as the *Sapientia*, as the light which enlightens the human mind by imparting knowledge of the divine mysteries. In the Apocalypse it is the Lamb that looses the seals of the book; only Christ holds the key to the knowledge of the mysteries: *Solus dominus Iesus in evangelio suo prophetarum aenigmata et legis mysteria revelavit, solus scientiae clavem detulit et dedit aperire nobis*. In the same passage St. Ambrose says explicitly what he means: *docet autem deus et mentes inluminat singulorum et claritatem cognitionis infundit, si tu aperias ostia cordis tui et caelestis gratiae recipias claritatem*<sup>1</sup>). That is precisely the reason why Christ is called the Light: *dominus et lux et ignis esse describitur, ut in tenebris ambulanti luceat quasi lumen, ne diutius possit errare qui quaerit luminis claritatem*<sup>2</sup>). In general, it may be said that St. Ambrose strongly emphasizes the fact that Christ brought knowledge of the truth and insight into the mysteries: 'The work of Christ as Revealer is emphasized by Ambrose'<sup>3</sup>). Often the sun is the symbol of Christ in that He imparts a higher knowledge to the human mind. St. Ambrose explicitly admits that morals come before mysteries, but *cognitio* is nevertheless of special significance to him, as appears from the following quotation: *Primum ergo exercenda est vitae militia, corrigendi mores. Cum haec instituerimus ad cursum debitum, ut sit offensionis correctio, puritatis gratia, tunc ad studia percipiendae cognitionis veniamus suo ordine et via. Prima igitur sunt moralia, secunda mystica. In illis vita, in his cognitio*<sup>4</sup>). Morals, the *militia*, come first. But in order to make spiritual progress the Christian has to aim higher and strive after the *abundantia spiritalis*. Then follows the query: *Quae abundantia spiritalis homini laboranti sub sole iustitiae?* To which St. Ambrose replies that the Christian will overflow and be sated *in omni verbo, inquit, et cognitione*<sup>5</sup>).

According to St. Ambrose this imparting of higher knowledge is especially typified in the theophanies of the *gloria Christi* in the Old Testament and the New. Abraham was the first to seek

1) In psalm. 118 serm. 8,59 (CSEL 62, p. 188,15-26).

2) In Psalm. 118 serm. 8,27 (CSEL 62, p. 166,20-25).

3) DUDDEN II, 603; cf. in psalm. 43,87 (CSEL 64, p. 325,12-15), *Est enim fulgor aeternus animorum, quem ideo Pater misit in terras, ut eius illuminati vultu aeterna et caelestia spectare possimus, qui ante terrena caligine tenebamur*.

4) In psalm. 118 serm. 1,2 (CSEL 62, p. 5,21-6,3).

5) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,21 (CSEL 62, p. 263,11-20).

this wisdom, he '*recessit inde in montem contra orientem Bethel*': *incrementum devotionis montis significat eminentia, cuius ascensio indicium est uberius processus. Contra orientem ideo, quia propheta-  
 bat venturum iustitiae solem, quod illic sapientia pararet sibi  
 domum et inde per virginem suam praedestinarer exortum. Volebat  
 ergo cognoscendorum mysteriorum iam lumen accipere. Sicut enim  
 sole mundus ita sapientiae splendore tota mens inluminabitur*<sup>1)</sup>.  
 Moses is another example, his external glory is a sign of his internal  
 enlightenment: *inluminat dominus sanctos suos et lucet in corde  
 iustorum. Itaque cum sapientem videris, cognosce quia descendit  
 super eum dei gloria. inluminavit eius mentem scientiae fulgore  
 cognitionisque divinae. Inluminavit autem corporaliter faciem  
 Moysi et transfigurata est gloria vultus eius*<sup>2)</sup>. Similarly the  
 appearance of the *gloria Christi* on Mount Thabor symbolizes this  
 enlightenment: *ideo et in evangelio non omnibus discipulis, sed  
 perfectioribus suam gloriam demonstravit*<sup>3)</sup>. On this occasion  
 Christ appeared as the sun, in whose light the splendour of Moses  
 and Elias paled as stars do before the rising sun. The ascent of  
 the mountain too symbolizes man's ascent to the summit of wisdom:  
*nisi altioris prudentiae cacumen ascendas, non tibi apparet sapientia,  
 non tibi apparet mysteriorum cognitio, non tibi apparet quanta sit  
 gloria*<sup>4)</sup>. — *Esaias gloriam dei vidit, quae videtur in montibus*<sup>5)</sup>.

Above we distinguished a three-fold symbolism: the *Sol iustitiae*,  
 which radiates life, righteousness and wisdom. However, as is  
 evident from the texts cited, one should not go too far in  
 distinguishing those various aspects. In the mind of St. Ambrose  
 the ideas of light and life, of virtue and righteousness, of wisdom  
 and knowledge all lie in the same perspective. The same holds  
 good, for that matter, of many other Christian authors and many  
 pagan writers, as was established already by DÖLGER<sup>6)</sup>. Therefore  
 speaking of this three-fold symbolism we should not consider it as a  
 clear-cut separation, but rather as a slight distinction and a nuance.

1) *Abr.* 2,3,11 (CSEL 32,1, p. 572,13-573,16).

2) *In psalm.* 118 *serm.* 17,27 (CSEL 62, p. 390,15-19). This text contains  
 elements typical of Origen as well as of Plotinos.

3) *Isaac.* 7,57 (CSEL 32,1, p. 8,78); cf. *Iac.* 1,8,38 (CSEL 32,1, p. 29,25).

4) *In Luc.* 7,12 (CSEL 32,4, p. 287,13-15).

5) *In Luc.* 3,26 (CSEL 32,4, p. 117,25), *Esaias gloriam dei vidit, quae videtur  
 in montibus*.

6) F. DÖLGER, *Sol salutis, Gebet und Gesang im christlichen Altertum mit  
 besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ostung in Gebet und Liturgie*, p. 385ff.; DÖLGER,  
*Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, 92.

4. This picture of Christ is further developed by St. Ambrose in that he consistently sustains the metaphor, working it out in details. This refers especially to the universality of man's salvation and the relation of the Church to Christ.

The sun, shining upon the whole earth, had long before been used as a symbol of God's omniscience and omnipresence. This metaphor is again met with in St. Ambrose<sup>1)</sup>, but more often used to indicate the universality of the redemption. And from this he always draws the inference that if there are people who do not walk in the light of Christ, the blame cannot be imputed to the light, but to the people themselves who have screened their windows against the light of Christ: *Plena est ergo terra misericordiae domini, quia omnibus data est remissio peccatorum, super omnes sol oriri iubetur. et hic quidem sol cotidie super omnes oritur, mysticus autem sol ille iustitiae omnibus ortus est; omnibus venit, omnibus passus est, ut tolleretur peccatum mundi. si quis autem non credit in Christum, generali beneficio ipse se fraudat, ut, si quis clausis fenestris radios solis excludat, non ideo sol non ortus est omnibus, quia calore eius se ipse fraudavit, sed quod solis est, praerogativam suam servat, quod imprudentis est, communis a se gratiam lucis excludit*<sup>2)</sup>. The same idea is found in the following texts: *sicut enim a se fulgorem solis excludit qui fenestras domus suae clausit locumque tenebrosum in quo deversetur elegerit, ita qui se averterit a sole iustitiae non potest splendorem eius aspicere, in tenebris ambulat et in omnium luce ipse sibi causa est caecitatis. aperi igitur fenestras tuas, ut tota domus tua veri fulgore solis inluceat, aperi oculos tuos, ut videas orientem tibi solem iustitiae...*<sup>3)</sup>. And he continues this line of thought when he says: *Numquid, si quis ostia domus suae claudat, solis est culpa, quod non inluminat domum eius?*<sup>4)</sup>. St. Ambrose insistently exhorts his Christians to open the windows of their souls to the eternal light: *et introibit Rex gloriae*; he has no hesitation in identifying the *Sol iustitiae* with the *Rex gloriae*. The metaphors follow each other without interruption: *Si has fidei tuae portas velis attollere, intrabit ad te rex gloriae triumphum portans propriae passionis*<sup>5)</sup>.

1) DÖLGER, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, 97: πανόπτης ; cf. Ambr. hex. 4,1,2 (CSEL 32,1, p. 111,24-112,6).

2) In psalm. 118 serm. 8,57 (CSEL 62, p. 186,14-23).

3) In psalm. 118 serm. 19,39 (CSEL 62, p. 442,1-11).

4) In psalm. 118 serm. 19,40 (CSEL 62, p. 442,17-22).

5) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,13-14 (CSEL 62, p. 258,20-259,22).

Yet there are people who shut themselves off from the light and live in the darkness of sin: *Si caeco damnum est huius solis gratiam non videre, quantum peccatori damnum veri luminis munere defraudatum perpetuae noctis tenebras sustinere!*<sup>1)</sup>. Thus the Jews remained in darkness, they did not recognize the true light: *Synagoga itaque... solem iustitiae non videbat et videbat illum non ex alto supra caput suum, sed ex meridiano inluminantem, quando hiems illi erat*<sup>2)</sup>. The heathens, on the other hand, came out of the darkness into the light: *populus autem gentium, qui erat confusionis, gentiles qui sedebant in tenebris, lucem viderunt magnam; qui sedebant in regione umbrae mortis, lux orta est illis, magna lux divinitatis*<sup>3)</sup>. Now they enjoy the full light, for them it is summer: *in ecclesiae loco ubi iustitia resplendet, ubi fulget iudicium sicut meridies, ubi umbra non cernitur, ubi maiores dies sunt, quod eis sol iustitiae tamquam aestivis mensibus diutius immoretur*<sup>4)</sup>. It was long before the sun bestowed the full warmth of its rays upon the heathens, *eo quod... congregationem gentium sol iustitiae diu indignam aestimaverit quam serena vultus sui luce lustraret*. But in his days St. Ambrose sees the whole world basking in the full light of Christ, the earth aglow with the blaze of a summer-sun, and thus the universality of man's salvation finding a new expression in the actual expansion of the catholic Church: *sed nunc iam totum inluminat mundum*<sup>5)</sup>. — *Nunc autem plenitudo lucis fulget aestivae, quando omnia et in omnibus Christus... Et vere orbis terrarum in ecclesia, in qua non Iudaeus tantummodo aut Graecus, non barbarus aut Scythia, non servus aut liber, sed omnes in Christo unum sumus. Sol omnibus fulget, dies omnibus lucet*<sup>6)</sup>. The light of Christ shines for all people without ceasing. Once the Sun of justice went down, but since the resurrection it has shone uninterruptedly, without ever yielding to the night: *Soli enim huic quem cotidie cernimus, nox tenebrosa succedit, sol autem iustitiae numquam occidit, quia sapientiae non succedit malitia*<sup>7)</sup>. The same idea is found in the expressions *Sol aeternus* and *aeternus Sol iustitiae*.

1) Hex. 4,1,2 (CSEL 32,1, p. 112,9-12).

2) Hex. 4,5,22 (CSEL 32,1 p. 129,14-16).

3) Hex. 4,5,22 (CSEL 32,1 p. 129,24-130,2).

4) Hex. 4,5,22 (CSEL 32,1, p. 129,4-8).

5) In psalm. 118 serm. 19,6 (CSEL 62, p. 425,6-7).

6) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,25 (CSEL 62, p. 266,10-18).

7) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,13 (CSEL 62, p. 259,1-2); cf. in psalm. 45,2 (CSEL 64, p. 331,1), *Aeternus sol iustitiae*.

5. The metaphor of Christ being the sun is worked out in even greater detail, when St. Ambrose describes the Church as the moon and the Saints as the stars, all shining through the light of Christ. Sometimes the Saints are called the *caeli qui enarrant gloriam Dei*, for they reflect the light of the Sun: *ideo sanctus caelum dicitur, quia vicinior eum claritas solis semper inlustrat*<sup>1</sup>). More often the Saints are represented as stars which carry the light of Christ, but grow pale beside the light of the Sun as at break-of-day the stars fade at the approach of the new light: *'stellae', illi utique resurrectionis gloria iam micantes, illi viri 'sicut luminaria in saeculo verbum vitae continentes'*<sup>2</sup>). Compared to Christ, however, they are darkness: *Namque ipsos stellarum globos sol exortus obducit et omnia earum lumina mundano sub sole vanescunt. Quomodo ergo sub aeterno sole iustitiae atque illo fulgore divino videri poterant stellae carnales? Ubi ergo sunt illa lumina quae vestris ante oculis quodam miraculo refulgebant? tenebrae sunt universa conparatione lucis aeternae. Alii ministeriis suis deo placere festinent; hic solus est verum lumen et aeternum*<sup>3</sup>).

The Church is very frequently described as the moon which with her soft light breaks through the darkness of the night: *et merito sicut luna ecclesia, quae toto mundo refulsit et tenebras saeculi huius inluminans dicit...* And continuing farther on, he says: *prospiciens ergo ecclesia sicut luna defectus habet et ortus frequentes, sed defectibus suis crevit et his meruit ampliari, dum persecutionibus minuitur et confessorum martyriis coronatur. Haec est vera luna, quae de fraterni sui luce perpetua sibi lumen immortalitatis et gratiae mutuatur. Fulget enim ecclesia non suo, sed Christi lumine et splendorem sibi arcessit de sole iustitiae*<sup>4</sup>). The Church too has her phases, she wanes and she waxes, that is: she knows times of persecutions and times of peace. And it is a great joy to St. Ambrose to say that after centuries of persecutions the Church is now shining at the full: *ecclesia tempora sua habeat, persecutionis videlicet et pacis. Nam videtur sicut luna deficere, sed non deficit. Obumbrari potest, deficere non potest, quae aliquorum quidem in persecutionibus discessione minuitur, ut martyrum confessionibus impleatur et effusi pro Christo sanguinis clarificata*

1) *In psalm.* 118 *serm.* 12,25 (CSEL 62, p. 266,2-3).

2) *In Luc.* 10,38 (CSEL 32,4, p. 469,13-15).

3) *In psalm.* 45,2 (CSEL 64, p. 330,26-331,5).

4) *Hex.* 4,8,32 (CSEL 32,1, p. 138,7-18).

*victoriis maius devotionis et fidei suae toto orbe lumen effundat. Namque luna luminis inminutionem habet, non corporis*<sup>1)</sup>. The cause of the moon's total or partial eclipse is the earth obstructing the rays of the sun; thus the *vitia carnis* form the obstacle between Christ and the Church: *et quemadmodum menstruis cursibus luna vel terrae oppositu, cum fuerit e regione solis, vanescit, sic et sancta ecclesia, cum lumini caelesti vitia carnis obsistunt, fulgorem divini luminis de Christi radiis non potest mutuari. Namque in persecutionibus lucem dei solus plerumque amor vitae huius excludit*<sup>2)</sup>. As the moon has an influence on the elements, so the Church also spreads her influence: *Minuitur luna, ut elementa repleat, Hoc est ergo grande mysterium. Donavit hoc ei qui omnibus donavit gratiam. Exinanivit eam, ut repleat, qui etiam se exinanivit, ut omnis repleret...*<sup>3)</sup>. Finally the light of Christ, which the Church reflects, is a beacon to every man in the darkness of this world and saves him from falling on the road of life: *Cito pes offendit in nocte, si quasi quidam mundi oculus viam luna non monstret. Et tu in nocte es saeculi; monstret tibi ecclesia viam, ex alto te iustitiae sol inluminet, ut lapsum timere non possis*<sup>4)</sup>.

Quite naturally we wonder whether and in how far St. Ambrose borrowed those metaphors and ideas from others. We obviously have to turn to the East for an answer, because St. Ambrose did not take much notice of the Christian authors of the West. And if we compare the Hexaemeron of St. Ambrose with St. Basil's work of that name, we find that in the work of St. Ambrose constant reference is made to the allegorical signification of the creation of light and to the mystical sense of the phenomena of the heavens, whereas the work of St. Basil contains but sparse indications of the light-symbolism: Ὡς γὰρ ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει τινὰς φωσιτῆρας ἐν κόσμῳ, ἄλλο δὲ ἐστὶ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου τό ἀληθινόν, οὗ κατὰ μέθεξιν οἱ ἅγιοι φωσιτῆρες ἐγένοντο τῶν ψυχῶν<sup>5)</sup>. According to H. FRANK Hippolytus has not much to offer either in explanation. The very text in *De Patriarchis* 4,19 proves it, for the words *ut flos boni odoris ad redemptionem mundi totius maternis visceribus*

1) *Hex.* 4,2,7 (CSEL 32,1, p. 115,9-15); cf. 4,7,27 (CSEL 32,1, p. 134,23-24).

2) *In Luc.* 10,38 (CSEL 32,4, p. 469,2-12).

3) *Hex.* 4,8,32 (CSEL 32,1, p. 137,19-22).

4) *In psalm.* 35,26 (CSEL 64, p. 68,12-15).

5) *Bas. Hex.* VI,2 (Sources Chrét. 26, p. 334, PG 29,121 B); cf. *Hex.* II,5 (Sources Chrét. 26, p. 164, PG 29,41 A).

*splendore novae lucis emissus ascenderit* are nearly all borrowed by St. Ambrose from Hippolytus except *splendore novae lucis* which is an addition of his own hand <sup>1)</sup>. Philo too may be dismissed, who according to DÖLGER makes only sporadic use of the sun as a symbol, and then only as a vague symbol of the *Λόγος* <sup>2)</sup>.

So we finally arrive at Origin, in whose writings we meet with an elaborate light-symbolism. For our investigation we chiefly rely on the texts cited by DÖLGER in *Sol salutis* and in 'Antike und Christentum'. In these texts we already discern the chief ideas of St. Ambrose in this respect. Therefore we shall again follow the five points into which we distinguished the light-symbolism as used by St. Ambrose.

Origin too considers Christ as the life-giving sun, as the symbol of the Redeemer, who for us was born, died and rose again <sup>3)</sup>. Therefore he refers mostly to the coming of Christ and His birth from the Virgin, and, though less frequently, the resurrection <sup>4)</sup>.

Moreover, we find Origin considering Christ as the sun and source of ethical virtue and superior knowledge. Origin is even the first to show this line of thought. As DÖLGER says and illustrates with texts, Christ, symbolized by the *sol* or *sol iustitiae*, was at first considered as the 'Lichtspender und Lebensspender für die Seele', as a source of life for the world. And he adds: 'Es ist nun von grösster Bedeutung, dass Origenes diese Betrachtungsweise auch auf die Auswertung des Lichtbegriffes im ethischen Sinne überträgt und auch auf diesem Wege Christus als das wahre Licht und die wahre Sonne zu kennzeichnen sucht' <sup>5)</sup>.

It is even more evident that St. Ambrose relies on Origin when he speaks of the *cognitio* and the *scientia*, which are terms used to render the Originistic *γνώσις*. In this connexion Origin also brings in the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor. Beside St. Ambrose's *perfectioribus suam gloriam demonstravit* <sup>6)</sup> Origin has *Perfectis*

<sup>1)</sup> *Patr.* 4,19 (CSEL 32,2, p. 135,12); cf. H. FRANK, *Zur Geschichte von Weihnachten und Epiphanie*, Jahrbuch f. Liturgiewissenschaft, 13 (1933, published 1936), p. 6.

<sup>2)</sup> DÖLGER, *Sol salutis*, 152ff.; DÖLGER, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit*, 100.

<sup>3)</sup> Origenes, *In exod.* VII,8 (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Origenes' Werke, Leipzig 1899, vol. VI,1, BAEHRENS, p. 214,19-20; p. 215,3-6).

<sup>4)</sup> Orig. *In iud.* I,1 (GCS, OW, VII,2, BAEHRENS, p. 465,12).

<sup>5)</sup> F. DÖLGER, *Das Sonnengleichnis in einer Weihnachtspredigt des Bischofs Zeno von Verona, Christus als wahre und ewige Sonne*, AC 6(1940), p. 6.

<sup>6)</sup> *Isaac* 7,57 (CSEL 32,1, p. 682,9); cf. *Iac.* 1,8,38 (CSEL 32,2, p. 29,25).

*Deus habetur*<sup>1</sup>). The motif that one has to ascend the mountain, that only in higher spheres one arrives at the γνῶσις, is also expressed several times in Origin, e.g. *Adscendere nos oportet adscensum collium Acrabin*<sup>2</sup>). He very often uses *lumen scientiae* and similar expressions, e.g. in this text: *Invitaris ergo per hoc ut ad orientem semper aspicias, unde tibi oritur sol iustitiae, unde tibi lumen nascitur... ne tibi ignorantiae nox et caligo subripiat, sed ut semper in scientiae luce veriseris*<sup>3</sup>).

Origin also emphasizes the universality of salvation, the fact that the Sun has risen for every one. Ἦσκει γὰρ ὁ εἰς Λόγος, ὡς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ἀνατείλας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμψαι τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν βουλομένων αὐτὸν παραδέξασθαι φθανούσας αὐγὰς<sup>4</sup>). On the other hand, he makes it clear that many shut themselves off from the rays of the *Sol iustitiae*<sup>5</sup>).

The simile of the Saints as the *caeli qui enarrant gloriam Dei* is rendered by Origin as follows: οἱ μὲν διηγούμενοι οὐρανοὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς νοερᾶς εἰσι φύσεως, οὐρανοὶ λεγόμενοι διὰ τὸ ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον<sup>6</sup>). They only share in the light of the sun and beside the dazzling light of the sun itself their light eclipses. This is another idea found both in Origin and St. Ambrose. Origin expresses it thus: *Ut splendor lunae et micantia coeli sidera, priusquam sol oriatur, in stationibus suis rutilant, orto vero sole absconduntur; sic lumen Ecclesiae ut lumen lunae, priusquam oriatur lumen illud verum solis iustitiae, resplendet et clarum est ante homines, cum autem Christus venerit, ante eum contenebrescet*<sup>7</sup>). RAHNER has exhaustively proved before in his articles on the 'Lunatheologie' that St. Ambrose's ideas and conceptions

<sup>1</sup>) Orig. *In Luc. fragm.* (PG 13, 1909 C). WALTHER VOLKER, *Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes*, p. 76-145, especially p. 87.

<sup>2</sup>) Orig. *In Iesu Nave* XIX,3 (GCS, OW, VII,2, BAEHRENS, p. 412,11), cf. *In exod.* VII,8 (GCS, OW, VI,1, BAEHRENS, p. 215,16).

<sup>3</sup>) Orig. *In lev.* IX,10 (GCS, OW, VI,1, BAEHRENS, p. 438,22-26), cf. *In exod.* VII,8 (GCS, OW, VI,1, BAEHRENS, p. 215,3), *In Iesu Nave* XIX (GCS, OW, VII,2, BAEHRENS, p. 414,4), *In cant. cantic.* II (GCS, OW, VIII, BAEHRENS, p. 139,7-12), .... *meridies* .... *illa scilicet cordis secreta, quibus clariorem scientiae lucem a Verbo Dei anima consequitur, hoc enim tempus est, quo sol celsiorem circuitus sui verticem tenet. Si quando ergo et sol iustitiae Christus ecclesiae suae excelsa et ardua virtutum suarum secreta manifestat, amoena eam pascua cubiliaque meridiana videbitur edocere*.

<sup>4</sup>) Orig. *C. Cels.* VI,79 (GCS, OW, II, KOETSCHAU, p. 150,14-18).

<sup>5</sup>) *Ego enim sum gentium populus, qui prius non adspexi ad solem iustitiae nec steti ante Dominum, et ideo nec ille me adspexit, sed despexit, neque adstitit mihi, sed praeteriit*, Orig. *In cant. cantic.* II (GCS, OW, VIII, BAEHRENS, p. 126, 11-13).

<sup>6</sup>) Orig. *In psalm.* XVIII,2 (PG 13, 1240 D).

<sup>7</sup>) Orig. *In Ezech.* IX,3 (GCS, OW, VIII, BAEHRENS, p. 411,22-27), cf. Ambr. *in psalm.* 45,2 (CSEL 64, p. 330,26-331,5), see p. 164.



regarding the Church as the moon were largely borrowed from Origin<sup>1</sup>). Both Origin and St. Ambrose represent the Church as the moon, which refreshes the earth with its dew, shows men the way by its light while itself receiving its light from Christ: *Sol iustitiae Christus est, huic si luna, id est ecclesia sua, quae lumine ipsius repletur, iuncta fuerit...*<sup>2</sup>). We also find the metaphor of the waning and waxing moon representing the Church in her sufferings and in her going down and her rising anew.

Many other places could be quoted from St. Ambrose which are almost literal translations from Origin, e.g. Origin represents the devil as the prince of darkness, who is sometimes clothed in the deceptive glimmer of false light: *falsa luce illuminat*<sup>3</sup>). St. Ambrose expresses the same idea only at greater length: *Transfiguratur se autem simulatione falsae lucis, non splendore perpetuae claritatis*<sup>4</sup>). Both of them have probably in mind the supreme god of the heathens, the sun-god, in whom they recognized the devil incarnate. Elsewhere St. Ambrose is clearer and uses the expression *Sol iniquitatis*<sup>5</sup>). The following text of St. Ambrose is another illustration of an almost verbatim borrowing: *quomodo unus omnes interficere poterat peccatores terrae? sed si consideres iustum, cui nox praecessit, dies adpropinquavit, potes videre quomodo exoriente tibi sole iustitiae de luce vigilans interficias fomenta omnia delictorum*<sup>6</sup>). The same exegesis is found in Origin<sup>7</sup>).

The mere similarities between St. Ambrose and Origin which we were able to establish in this brief discussion, justify our supposition that St. Ambrose derived his ideas of the light-symbolism from Origin. His ideas derived a certain individuality from his method of presentation, especially his apt remarks which illustrate his fine appreciation of nature, and his keen observation of actual life. They may sometimes be obscured by metaphors and allegories

1) H. RAHNER, *Mysterium Lunae*, Zschr. f. Kath. Theologie, 63 (1939), p. 311-349, 64(1940), p. 61-80, Ambr. hex. 4,8,32 (CSEL 32,1, p. 137,27), *Ergo annuntiavit luna mysterium Christi*.

2) Orig. *In num.* XXIII,5 (GCS, OW, VII,2, BAEHRENS, p. 217,24-25), cf. *In Iob.* VI,55 (GCS, OW, IV, PREUSCHEN, p. 164,19-22), οὗτος δὲ ὁ σωτὴρ ταπεινώσας συκοφάντην διὰ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν τεταπεινωκέναι, συνταραμένει τῷ νοητῷ ἡλίῳ πρὸ τῆς λαμπροτάτης ἐκκλησίας, τροπικώτερον σελήνης λεγομένης, τυγχάνων γενεῶν γενεαῖς.

3) Orig. *In iud.* I,1 (GCS, OW, VII,2, BAEHRENS, p. 466,17), cf. *In cant. cant.* III (GCS, OW, VIII, BAEHRENS, p. 176,6-8), *iste enim sol, qui adurit iustum, non est laudabilis, sed ille magis, qui se transfiguratur in angelum lucis (sol tentationis)*.

4) *Iob* 2,4,16 (CSEL 32,2, p. 242,21).

5) *Tob.* 14,47 (CSEL 32,2, p. 545,14); *in psalm.* 118 *serm.* 19,6 (CSEL 62,425,5).

6) *In psalm.* 118 *serm.* 15,35 (CSEL 62,349,6-10).

7) Orig. *C. Cels.* VII,22 (GCS, OW, II, KOETSCHAU, p. 173-174).

and his borrowings sometimes be superficial and unconsidered, still we have to confess that he showed great receptiveness for the subtleties of Alexandrian speculation.

There certainly is one element in St. Ambrose that cannot be traced back to Origin, the association of the *Sol iustitiae* with the winter solstice, which finds special expression in Christ being called *lumen novum*, *lux nova* or *sol novus*<sup>1)</sup>. Those were technical expressions to designate the winter solstice, as was shown by H. FRANK and F. DOLGER. Origin says: *Quia ergo novum mundo scientiae lumen accendit, diem suum quodammodo mane effecit et suum mane tamquam 'iustitiae sol' produxit*<sup>2)</sup>. But here Christ Himself is not called the *lumen novum* and moreover the expression in this translation from the Greek has not the technical meaning of winter solstice. Nor did St. Ambrose borrow the idea from Hippolytus, since he conspicuously inserts the words *splendore novae lucis* in the above-cited text, which he took from Hippolytus<sup>3)</sup>. FRANK compares this text with some verses from the Christmas hymn of St. Ambrose: *praesepe iam fulget tuum lumenque nox spirat novum*<sup>4)</sup>, and considers it an argument for the supposition that already in the days of St. Ambrose Christmas was celebrated in Milan on the 25th of December, which runs counter to the opinion of E. CASPAR<sup>5)</sup>. Not only do we think that FRANK's view is most plausible, but to the texts which he quotes in this connexion we should also like to add another passage, viz. *De Iob et David* I, 5,14, where Christ is called *sol novus*<sup>6)</sup>.

1) DOLGER, AC, 6 (1940), p. 29, 'Die Bezeichnung 'Sol novus' für den Tag der WinterSonnenwende war bei den Römern alt', Maximus Taurin, Leo magnus and Petrus Chrysologus too sometimes call Christ the *sol novus*. H. FRANK, *Zur Geschichte von Weihnachten und Epiphanie*, Jahrbuch f. Liturgiewissenschaft, 3 (1923), p. 105-108, 12 (1932, published 1934), p. 145-155, 13 (1933, published 1936), p. 1-38, H. FRANK, *Frühgeschichte und Ursprung des Römischen Weihnachtsfestes im Lichte neuerer Forschung*, Archiv f. Liturgiewissenschaft, 2 (1952), p. 1ff.

2) Orig. In exod. VII,8 (GCS, OW, VI,1, BAEHRENS, p. 215,14-16)

3) Cf. supra p. 165, *patr.* 4,19 (CSEL 32,2, p. 135,12), FRANK, Jahrbuch f. Liturgiewissenschaft, 13 (1933), p. 6

4) The hymn *Intende qui regis Israel praesepe iam fulget tuum, lumenque nox spirat novum, quod nulla nox interpolat fideque iugi luceat*, FRANK, Archiv f. Liturgiewissenschaft, 2 (1952), p. 24. Cf. MANLIO SIMONETTI, *Studi sull' innologia popolare cristiana dei primi secoli*, p. 382

5) ERICH CASPAR, *Kleine Beiträge zur älteren Papstgeschichte*, Zschr. f. Kirchengesch., 46 NF IX (1928), p. 346ff.

6) *Iob* 1,5,14 (CSEL 32,2, p. 219,9), *festinamus ad redemptionem etiam nostram festinare debemus etiam ipse ad novam vitam, erit enim beneficio crucis, qua universa renovantur, et sol novus et caelum novum. Festino ergo ut illum possim videre solem iustitiae illuminantem animas universorum.*

It is true that *sol novus* primarily means *sol verus* in this passage, but this does not alter the fact that the expression *sol novus* retains its technical meaning of winter solstice besides that of *sol verus*. Nor can it be a matter for surprise that just in connexion with the resurrection Christ is called *sol novus*; it rather illustrates the fact that at Christmas and at Easter the early Christians celebrated the whole work of redemption and not just one aspect. With reference to a no less illustrating text, *Quis utique tam invictus nisi dominus noster qui mortem subactam devicit?*<sup>1)</sup>, DÖLGER shows, though in another connexion, that Christmas points to Easter. Again, as a technical expression for the winter solstice *sol novus* is certainly more expressive than *lumen novum* or *lux nova*.

Furthermore we believe that in the context of this discussion FRANK's argument may be put a little more cogently. As we have already shown, St. Ambrose is dependent on the Greek authors, notably Origin, for his light-symbolism. In them we find no connexion between Christ and the winter solstice. In this respect St. Ambrose is clearly independent of Origin and Hippolytus. He made no study of the Western Fathers of the Church. All this lends strong support to the supposition that St. Ambrose derived this idea from the local liturgy, the more so since this idea is also expressed in a hymn. And it is surely more probable that St. Ambrose was influenced in this matter by the Milanese liturgy then vice versa. Add to this that according to available data St. Ambrose was the first of the Western authors to apply the expression *sol novus* and *lumen novum* to Christ. In so far as history of ideas and linguistic data can give us any assurance, it may be accepted as a fact that on entering upon his episcopate St. Ambrose found Christmas celebrated on the 25th December<sup>2)</sup>. How it was that this date came to be accepted in Milan is not made clear; it certainly must have been introduced before 374.

From what has been set out above we may conclude that St. Ambrose not only borrowed his ideas of Christ as the life-giving sun from the Greek Fathers, but was also influenced in this respect by the light-symbolism, already present in the Milanese liturgy before his episcopate, and in general by the sun-cult, which had many adherents in the West. As early as the third century this

1) DÖLGER, AC, 6 (1940), p. 27-28: *De solstitia...*

2) MOHRMANN, *Epiphania*, p. 20.

sun-cult had become for many heathens the pre-eminent religion, especially since the emperor Aurelian raised the sun to the status of imperial god and on the *campus Agrippinae* erected a temple in his honour. Under syncretic influence the sun was regarded as the supreme imperial god, and his image appeared on all coins beside the emperor's<sup>1</sup>). Against this the Christians adopted a vigorous apologetic attitude and against the pagan sun-god they emphatically set Christ as the true Sun. Throughout the fourth century this sun-cult gained favour with the heathens. Hence it is that in St. Ambrose we find unmistakable traces of this antithetic attitude, especially where he represents Christ as the *lumen verum* — a frequent expression in St. Ambrose — and where he uses *Sol iustitiae* in opposition to *Sol iniquitatis*. It is, however, not correct to say that those antithetic factors determined his attitude<sup>2</sup>). For after the Edict of Toleration the attitude of the Christians towards their pagan environment was no longer solely determined by apologetics. They took a much easier view of certain pagan customs, conventions and images and saw no objection, after ridding them of their pagan content, to adopting them and adapting them to Christian thought. This new attitude did not only give an impulse to the light-symbolism, but also led to the adoption of new forms. It was an influential factor in bringing about the celebration of Christmas, as MOHRMANN says. The causes that led to the celebration of Christmas on the 25th December were, according to her, the Christian instinct for the light-symbolism and the 'goût de fixer chronologiquement, par des calculs déterminés, les faits de salut dans le cycle annuel, où certaines dates déterminées, comme les équinoxes, jouaient toujours un rôle; last not least... la mentalité des chrétiens après la paix de l'Eglise: moins susceptibles que leurs aïeux, ils acceptent sans trop de scrupules une forme ancienne à laquelle ils donnent un sens nouveau, même si cette forme se trouve dans la sphère de la pensée religieuse. Un parallélisme antithétique conduit parfois aussi à l'acceptation de formes anciennes'<sup>3</sup>).

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1) H. USENER, *Das Weihnachtsfest*, p. 351.

2) *Lumen verum*: in *psalm.* 118 *serm.* 12,13-14 (CSEL 62, p. 258,20-259,22); in *psalm.* 45,2 (CSEL 64, p. 331,5). *Sol iniquitatis*: *Tob.* 14,47 (CSEL 32,2, p. 545,12-19).

3) MOHRMANN, *Epiphania*, 18-19; RSPH, 1937, p. 672; cf. FRANK, *Archiv f. Liturgiewissenschaft*, 2 (1952), p. 16ff.

After this discussion of the influence of Origin and of the sun-cult, the question arises whether and in how far we have to admit the presence of Neoplatonic influence in St. Ambrose's light-symbolism.

For our investigation we rely on the studies of THEILER, COURCELLE and HENRY<sup>1)</sup>. Several times they call attention to the presence of the light-symbolism in Neoplatonism. THEILER recalls that the Egyptian Plotinos was influenced by the Isis-mysteries, in which the element of light and the symbolic conception of the sun also played their part already. In this connexion he quotes the well-known text of Apuleius: *Nocte media, vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine*<sup>2)</sup>.

Above the visible world, according to Plotinos, there is the divine triad of the One, the Mind and the World-soul. The One (τὸ Ἕν) is the light itself, the Mind (Νοῦς) is the sun and the World-soul (Ψυχή) is some star lighted by the light of the sun. All this he expresses in the following text<sup>3)</sup>: Καὶ οὖν ἀπεικαστέον τὸ μὲν φωτί, τὸ δὲ ἐφεξῆς ἡλίῳ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον τῷ σελήνης ἄστρῳ κομζομένῳ τὸ φῶς παρ' ἡλίου. Ψυχὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐπακτὸν νοῦν ἔχει ἐπιχρώννυντα αὐτὴν νοερὰν οὐσαν, νοῦς δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ οἰκεῖον ἔχει οὐ φῶς ὦν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὃ ἐστὶ πεφωτισμένον ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ οὐσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ παρέχον τοῦτο τὸ φῶς [οὐκ] ἄλλο ὢν φῶς ἐστὶν ἀπλοῦν παρέχον τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνῳ τοῦ εἶναι ὃ ἐστὶ. If St. Ambrose was greatly influenced by Plotinos, it is likely that Plotinos' conception of the *Intellectus* as the sun in some measure determined the way in which St. Ambrose represents the *Verbum* as the sun. COURCELLE does not establish the existence of clear indications pointing to such a parallel. Some details, however, show points of similarity between Plotinos and St. Ambrose. COURCELLE cites, for instance, the following parallel texts<sup>4)</sup>:

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1) P. HENRY, *Plotin et l'Occident*, Louvain 1934; COURCELLE, *Recherches sur les Confessions de St. Augustin*; COURCELLE, *Revue de Philologie*, 1950, p. 29-56; W. THEILER, review of COURCELLE *Recherches*, *Gnomon* 25 (1953), p. 113-122; W. THEILER, *Porphyrius und Augustin*, Halle 1933.

2) Apul. 11,23; THEILER *Porphyrius und Augustin*, p. 3 n. 5; Henry, p. 101, n. 2.

3) *Enn.* 5,6,4,16-22; HENRY 129.

4) COURCELLE, *Recherches*, 114 (the text of our quotations is as found in COURCELLE). St. Ambrose: *Solem nisi sanus et vicens oculus non aspicit, nec bonum potest videre nisi anima bona*. Plotinos: Οὐ γὰρ ἂν πώποτε εἶδεν ὀφθαλμός ἡλίον ἡλιοειδὴς μὴ γεγενημένος, οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸν ἂν ἴδοι ψυχὴ μὴ καλὴ γενομένη (RPh, 1952, p. 38).

'Jamais un oeil ne verrait le soleil sans être devenu semblable au soleil, ni une âme ne verrait le beau sans être belle'.

'Jamais un oeil ne voit le soleil sans être sain et vigoureux, ni une âme ne peut voir le Bien sans être bonne'.

This text, however, can hardly be said to determine Ambrose's view of Christ. It may be possible, of course, to find more important similarities in this respect between Plotinos and St. Ambrose. For as COURCELLE says himself, he only looked for parallel texts. A detailed investigation into the relation between Plotinos' *Noûs* and St. Ambrose's *Verbum* might throw new light on this matter. In this study, however, we cannot very well undertake an investigation of this sort. Even if it were done, it would, we fear, yield very little positive result. The reasons for our suspicion are that the *Noûs* of Plotinos has a more intellectualistic character than the *Christus Sol* of St. Ambrose and that St. Ambrose in his description of the *Christus Sol* depends almost entirely on Origin, as we have shown. St. Ambrose hardly speaks of the light of Christ as the source of our intellectual perception, but he does speak of Christ as the origin of our life and our salvation, as the author of the *cognitio* (the Originistic *γνώσις*); the setting of the *Sol Christus* was His death, His rising the resurrection, He gives His light to all men, but in a special way to the Church and the Christians. In general Neoplatonism has undoubtedly exerted a stimulating influence on the accentuation of the aspect of light in the *gloria Christi*. In certain details this influence can, indeed, be pointed out. But the influence of Neoplatonism is far less than that of the Scriptures and the Greek authors.

A similar stimulating influence on the Christian light-symbolism can be assigned to various other fourth century movements, such as Hermetism and Manichaeism <sup>1)</sup>. The light-mysticism was popular in the West throughout the fourth century. And Christianity certainly played its part in this movement.

Resuming we may say: just as the *gloria Dei* so the *gloria Christi* in St. Ambrose also presents a very different picture from that of the third century. Then the *gloria* was primarily connected with

1) Cf. Aug. in evang. Ioh. 34,7,2 (PL 35,1652).

the victory on the cross and the combats of the martyrs, whereas in St. Ambrose the epiphanic light-splendour of God and of Christ is far more in evidence. The causes may be inferred from what has been said before. First of all we notice a more scientific exegesis and deeper theological penetration of biblical thought and ideas flourishing in the fourth century. By this St. Ambrose greatly benefited, specially through the intermediary of the Greek Fathers. He was also indebted to it for his clear grasp of the idea of *δόξα* in the Bible, notably in St. Paul. A second cause was the tendency to light-mysticism, which was very prevalent among the fourth century Christians and, through the Greeks, strongly influenced St. Ambrose. The Christians found support for this light-symbolism in the biblical metaphor of *Sol iustitiae* — though not used of Christ — and in St. John's idea of the *lumen quod illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum*<sup>1</sup>). In the East this light-mysticism develops already in the third century and figures largely in Origen. In the West we find vague indications of it in Tertullian and St. Cyprian; it does not reach its heyday there until the fourth century, when it comes to dominate, to a large extent, the liturgy of Christmas and Easter. This tendency of the Christians to light-symbolism, going back to a very early date, received a fresh impulse from the flourishing sun-cult in the third and fourth centuries. To this were added the influences of some other fourth century movements, such as Neoplatonism, Hermetism and Manichaeism.

Those influences, however, are not all on a level. Scripture and Origen have a predominant influence. Then the sun-cult plays an important part. Those factors are mainly responsible for the fact that in St. Ambrose the element of light in the concept of God is so pronounced.

In the doctrine of the Trinity and in Christology *gloria* comes to designate the divine nature proper to the Father, the Son and the Spirit. This usage is not confined to the language of technical theology, but also finds its way into the language of the pulpit and the liturgy, especially into the doxology. The doxology receives an entirely new and anti-Arian signification. St. Ambrose uses it at the end of every sermon, as appears from the *Hexaemeron* and

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<sup>1</sup>) *Ioh.* 1,9; cf. *Orig. In iud.* I,1 (GCS, OW, VII,2, BAEHRENS, p. 464,12-14); *De princ.* I,2,6 (GCS, OW, V, KOETSCHAU, p. 36,6).

*De Sacramentis* <sup>1</sup>). In the doxology he always uses the indicative. Especially the short doxology *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto* comes to designate the acknowledgement of the unity of the divine nature and the three divine Persons <sup>2</sup>).

Finally there is also the idea of the *gloria Christi* associated with the triumph of the cross and the combats of the martyrs, and often associated with the *gloria passionis et resurrectionis*. This idea is the outcome of a time and a mentality different from the one that gave rise to the idea of the *Sol iustitiae*. But as we have seen, the ideas of *Rex gloriae* and *Sol invictus* are closely associated in the mind of St. Ambrose.

It is evident that for St. Ambrose the *gloria Christi* is a concept with many aspects. It would be wrong to make too rigorous a separation between the various aspects, as it is precisely the word *gloria* that connects all those various elements. The word *claritas* chiefly indicates the element of light, the *claritas solis*. *Maiestas* signifies Christ's divine (miraculous) power and sometimes also His imposing appearance. The word *gloria* comprises all the aspects mentioned.

### 3. *Gloria hominis*.

To indicate the *δόξα* of man St. Ambrose nearly always uses the word *gloria*. We may make a distinction between the *δόξα* of man in this life and the one he will enjoy in the life hereafter.

St. Paul sometimes seems to mention a *δόξα* of man in this life; at least, many Fathers understand him in this sense. In the third century the *gloria* which man has in this life comes to mean his renown with God. In this meaning it still occurs in St. Ambrose. But it often indicates also an inward quality, a new lustre added to the soul. According to St. Ambrose this new lustre of the soul is not primarily the *gloria virtutum*, but consists chiefly in this that our being and operations are the image of the *paterna substantia* and the *divina operatio*, consequently that the soul of man is the *imago Dei* and participates in the *gloria Dei*: *illa anima bene picta est, in qua elucet divinae operationis effigies, illa anima bene picta est, in qua est splendor gloriae et paternae imago substantiae* <sup>3</sup>). Continuing the argument he explains: *Cognosce ergo te, decora*

<sup>1</sup>) Cf. *sacr.* 4,6,29; 6,5,24; 6,5,26; *off.* 2,30,156, etc.

<sup>2</sup>) *Epist.* 23,22 (PL 16,1035 B).

<sup>3</sup>) *Hex.* 6,7,42 (CSEL 32,1, p. 234,3).



*anima, quia imago es dei. Cognosce te, homo, quia gloria es dei. Audi quomodo gloria. Propheta dicit: 'mirabilis facta est cognitio tua ex me', hoc est: in meo opere tua mirabilior est maiestas, in consilio hominis tua sapientia praedicatur*<sup>1)</sup>). Man therefore expresses the *gloria Dei* by his being and his actions.

On the other hand, St. Ambrose says emphatically that this *gloria* is not yet visible in this life, but remains hidden. *Hic enim nec ipse Paulus vivebat in gloria*<sup>2)</sup>). On earth we live in *humilitate*, in the wake of the cross: *induimus viscera misericordiae in Christo, induimus crucis gloriam, quae Iudaeis scandalum, Graecis stultitia*<sup>3)</sup>). But it is the road to the undisguised glory of the life to come.

As regards life after death St. Ambrose distinguishes a paradise and a *Regnum caeleste*, just as many other early Christians did<sup>4)</sup>). Only the martyrs and those Christians that are distinguished by a very high degree of sanctity enter into the kingdom of heaven immediately after death. The other *iusti* go to paradise after death, where they live in happy expectation of the *gloria regni caelestis*, which will be their share after the resurrection. Whereas Tertullian and St. Cyprian characterize their state especially as a liberation from *tribulationes*, St. Ambrose emphasizes the *quies* and the *libertas* in respect of sin and passions. In the psalms he reads that David *illam animarum requiem dicit terram esse viventium, quo peccata non penetrant, ubi virtutum vivit gloria*<sup>5)</sup>). The just therefore indeed possess the *gloria virtutum*, but do not yet share the *gloria Dei* proper. From I Cor. 15.22-24 he infers the existence of different degrees or grades of happiness in paradise: *Est enim ordo quietis quia est et resurrectionis*<sup>6)</sup>). The order of these seven grades, however, he borrows from Plotinos and describes them, fully in accordance with Plotinos, as a gradual progressing towards the beatific vision<sup>7)</sup>). The fourth *ordo* he describes thus: *incipiunt intellegere requiem suam et futuram sui gloriam praevidere*. The sixth grade as follows: *vultus earum sicut sol incipiat refulgere et stellarum luminibus comparari, qui tamen fulgor earum corruptelam iam sentire non possit... Septimus vero ordo is erit, ut*

1) *Hex.* 6,8,50 (CSEL 32,1, p. 241,15).

2) *Bon. mort.* 12,56 (CSEL 32,1, p. 752,12).

3) *Tob.* 20,74 (CSEL 32,2, p. 563,11).

4) DUDDEN II, 653ff.; cf. *fug. saec.* 4,17 (CSEL 32,2, p. 179,5), *gloria regni caelestis*; cf. K. PRÜMM, *Christentum als Neuheitserlebnis*, p. 457-463.

5) *Bon. mort.* 9,38 (CSEL 32,1, p. 736,3).

6) *Bon. mort.* 11,48 (CSEL 32,1, p. 744,7-8).

7) Plotinos III,4,5; cf. F. CUMONT, *Lux Perpetua*, p. 343 and 433-434.

*exsultent cum fiducia et sine ulla cunctatione confidant et sine trepidatione laetentur festinantes vultum eius videre, cui sedulae servitutis obsequia detulerunt.* Hence they already possess a certain *gloria* and even have a weak, yet visible radiance; nevertheless their chief happiness consists in the expectation of the *futura gloria*.

This *gloria* proper was, in the mind of St. Ambrose, primarily connected with the *resurrectio carnis*, accordingly he usually calls it the *splendor corporeus*<sup>1</sup>). The final outbreak and complete development of *gloria* was associated with the *dies iudicii, quando cum gloria sancti resurgent*<sup>2</sup>). In this connexion we should remember that the *resurrectio* figured more largely in the early-Christian world of ideas than in modern thought, because the resurrection was not only regarded as the beginning of the *gloria carnis* but also as the commencement of the *visio beatifica* for all the ordinary *iusti*. Moreover the Christians were then more keenly sensitive to the idea of final victory.

The day of judgement will mean ruin to many, but to the just the entry into the *gloria regni caelestis*. *In lege dei atque haereditate fidei constitutos iudicii dies non ad poenam invenit, sed ad gloriam*<sup>3</sup>). This *gloria*, as described by St. Ambrose in *De Bono mortis* and elsewhere, essentially consists in *videre Deum*<sup>4</sup>). This beatific vision entails the transformation of man into the *gloria Dei*. St. Ambrose represents this transformation as the putting on of a new garment, of the *amictus gloriae*: *Quid enim deest ei qui illud bonum possidet? ... In qua solitudine non stipatus, quem vita beata circumdat, quem vestit gratia, quem gloriae amictus inlustrat? Non minus enim otiosus quam cum operatur beatus, nec minus dormiens quam vigilans gloriosus, quia non minus dormiens quam cum vigilat, incolumis et sanus est*<sup>5</sup>). So according to St. Ambrose *gloria* is not something natural, but a garment which gives man a new appearance and envelops him in a new lustre: a *vestimentum, amictus, stola, tunica* or *indumentum*<sup>6</sup>). This garment is nearly always referred to as a vestment of light, of an outward,

1) Cf. in psalm. 43,15 (CSEL 64, p. 273,21-22).

2) *Bon. mort.* 10,46 (CSEL 32,1, p. 742,5).

3) *In Luc.* 8,39 (CSEL 32,4, p. 409,18).

4) *Bon. mort.* 11,49 (CSEL 32,1, p. 745,18ff.).

5) *Iac.* 1,8,39 (CSEL 32,2, p. 30,12).

6) *Isaac* 5,43 (CSEL 32,1, p. 668,10ff.), *Suscipe igitur Evam (i.e. animam) iam non ficulneae foliis adopertam, sed sancto amictam spiritu et nova gratia gloriosam, quia iam non tamquam nudata absconditur, sed tamquam circumdata vestimenti splendore fulgentis occurrit, quia vestit eam gratia.*

blinding, resplendent light. Besides *videre Deum* and man's transformation into the glory and light of God, St. Ambrose also mentions the *requies pura, lux immortalis, gratia perpetua, hereditas animarum pia et secunda tranquillitas* and the *vitae aeternae beatitudinem*<sup>1)</sup>, all of them elements derived partly from biblical and partly from Stoic ideas. But they are all comprised in God's glory and splendour, which determine all the eschatological conceptions. *Iusti hanc remunerationem habent, ut videant faciem dei et lumen illud, quod inluminat omnem hominem*<sup>2)</sup>. — *Cum enim conversus fuerit ad Dominum, velamen auferetur, ut gloriam Dei speculariter videre possimus*<sup>3)</sup>. — *Revelata facie gloriam Dei speculariter in eandem imaginem reformabor*<sup>4)</sup>. So man will be transformed from a *corpus humilitatis* to a *corpus gloriae*: *Videbis perfectum hominem iam non in imagine, sed in veritate; 'qualis enim caelestis, tales et caelestes'* (I Cor. 15.48), *utique et ipsi in gloria vel decore, iam in resurrectionis gratia, non in corpore mortis et corruptionis deformitate*<sup>5)</sup>. This *gloria* is the essence of the *regnum caeleste*, for the *quies, laetitia* and *tranquillitas* are already enjoyed in paradise. Furthermore, the reward of eternal life is the same for every one, but glory varies for every one according to the measure of his personal sanctity and the pleasure of God: *nam et undecim conducis hora et aequalem dignaris mercedem solvere, aequalem mercedem vitae, non gloriae; neque enim omnibus reposita est corona iustitiae*<sup>6)</sup>.

This brief summary of St. Ambrose's ideas about the life to come shows that the beatific vision and the transformation of the Blessed into the glory of God form the essential elements of the *Regnum caeleste*. This is in itself no new Christian idea. But the emphasis St. Ambrose gave to it is certainly new with regard to that of the third century. The changed conditions of the time are responsible for this change of view-point: a more theological penetration of the New Testament writings and Neoplatonism. As CUMONT has shown already, the notion that the beatific vision constituted the essential part of the heavenly happiness gained

1) *Bon. mort.* 12,55 (CSEL 32,1 p. 751,4-6); cf. *in psalm.* 1,13,1 (CSEL 64, p. 10,16-18); P. COUVÉE, *Vita beata en Vita aeterna bij Lactantius, Ambrosius, Augustinus*, p. 251: St. Ambrose formally identifies *vita beata* with *vita aeterna*.

2) *Bon. mort.* 11,49 (CSEL 32,1, p. 745,18-19).

3) *Apol. Dav.* II,9,45 (CSEL 32,2, p. 389,24).

4) *Iob* 4,3,12 (CSEL 32,2, p. 275,19).

5) *In psalm.* 38,26 (CSEL 64, p. 204,10).

6) *In Luc.* 7,220 (CSEL 32,4, p. 381,4).

prominence partly owing to Plotinos' intellectualism<sup>1</sup>). With regard to the concept of *gloria* we observe analogical changes of meaning. In the third century *gloria*, when applied to the life hereafter of the Christian, signified primarily the honour and glory in heaven which he derived from his friendship with God and his association with the apostles and patriarchs. In St. Ambrose, on the other hand, *gloria* as applied to the hereafter of the Christian especially designated the vision of God and his corporeal glorification. This new concept of *gloria* is likewise the result of changed conditions: the time of the persecutions is past, the ideas of combat and victory no longer dominate Christian thought. To this must be added the study of Pauline theology, which deals extensively with this heavenly glory, e.g. *Cor.* 3.18: *Nos vero omnes revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur a claritate in claritatem, tamquam a Domini Spiritu.* And then there is the influence of Neoplatonism. In this respect it is possible to prove in detail the influence Plotinos had on St. Ambrose, as was done by COURCELLE. Both St. Ambrose and Plotinos describe the beatific vision as the highest and fullest happiness<sup>2</sup>):

Plot.

Que croyons-nous qu'ils éprouveraient, s'ils voyaient le Beau en soi dans toute sa pureté, non pas celui qui... Quelle beauté manquerait encore?

Ambr.

*Si donc on a mérité de voir cet être absolument pur et incorporel qu'est-ce qui manquerait encore?* Saint Pierre a vu la gloire de la résurrection du Christ, et refusait de descendre de la montagne en disant: 'Seigneur, il nous est bon d'être ici' (*Mt.* 17.4). Combien plus incomparable est la gloire de la divinité et sa 'lumière inaccessible' (*I Tim.* 6.16)?

In this passage of Plotinos St. Ambrose refers to the Transfiguration and so gives a Christian tinge to this philosophical

<sup>1</sup>) CUMONT, *Lux perpetua*, 433-434

<sup>2</sup>) COURCELLE, *Recherches*, 108-109, St Ambrose *Si quis igitur purum illud et incorporeum summum illud videre meruerit, quid habeat aliud, quod desideret? Denique Petrus gloriam resurrectionis Christi vidit et nolebat descendere dicens 'Domine, bonum est nos hic esse' (Mt. XVII,4) Et quanto incomparabilior est illa divinitatis gloria et 'lux inaccessibilis' (I Tim VI,16) , Plotinos Τί δῆτα οἰομεθα, εἴ τις αὐτό τὸ καλὸν θεῶτο αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καθαρὸν, μὴ σαρκῶν τίνος ἂν ἐν δέοιτο καλοῦ, (RPh, 1952, p 33).*

argument. There are indeed differences in the manner in which Plotinos and St. Ambrose describe the beatific vision. COURCELLE points out that to Plotinos this happiness consists in beholding the absolute Beautiful, whereas St. Ambrose regards the vision of the perfect Good as the highest bliss <sup>1)</sup>. But apart from those differences it is evident that partly owing to Neoplatonic influence the beatific vision and the light-aspect gained prominence in the Christian conception of the life hereafter.

As regards the terms *gloria* and *claritas* the following remarks may be made: St. Ambrose mostly uses the word *gloria* to indicate human glory. *Claritas* occurs sporadically. *Gloria* often stands for the spiritual and inward splendour of man or is a general designation of heavenly happiness, but *claritas* lacks this more general signification. *Claritas* rarely indicates the glory of man during his life on earth and used eschatologically it primarily indicates the light-phenomenon. So the usual word for human splendour is *gloria*.

Now the question arises whether this meaning of *gloria* continued in use independently of the other meaning of *gloria*, viz. renown, or whether it was influenced by it. It is almost a foregone conclusion that there must have been contact between them: for the one meaning (renown with God and an honourable position in the Church both here on earth and in heaven in the company of the Saints) runs completely parallel to the other meaning (participation in the greatness of God, on earth but especially in heaven). When *gloria* is used of a living person, it usually indicates primarily: renown, the *gloria virtutis*, (*claritas* occurs occasionally in this sense) and to this St. Ambrose connects an elaborate imagery of light-motifs. This is nothing wonderful in itself, because profane authors also often depict renown as something radiant that lends lustre to a man's life. Now in St. Ambrose this trait is very prominent; e.g. he writes: *Etenim familiae hominum splendore generis nobilitantur, animarum autem clarificatur gratia splendore virtutis* <sup>2)</sup>. The faithful Christian who overcomes the devil, walks at the same time on the road of light: *transit fidei merito et operum claritate... , via lucernae transit devictis temptationibus saeculi et superatis nequitias spiritualibus legitimi petens coronam certaminis et ideo meruit Christo iudicante*

1) COURCELLE, *Recherches*, 114ff.

2) Noe 4,10 (CSEL 32,1, p. 420,16).

*laudari*<sup>1)</sup>. Likewise he describes the splendour of Christian victory when comparing the Church to the moon: *in persecutionibus discessione minuitur, ut martyrum confessionibus impleatur, et effusi pro Christo sanguinis clarificata victoriis maius devotionis et fidei suae toto orbe lumen effundat*<sup>2)</sup>.

And so, on the one hand, the concept of renown is surrounded by light-motifs and on the other hand the concept of *gloria caelestis* is influenced by the concept of renown. Besides the essential biblical elements, the Christian conception of the life hereafter already contains Arcadian motifs (*refrigerium* and *quies*) and also Stoic traits (*tranquillitas animi* and *vita beata*) and Neoplatonic elements. Via the word *gloria*, it has now also absorbed the idea of renown and victory. The day of judgement is not only the day of the resurrection, of the resplendent glory of Christ and the Saints, but also the day of the final victory and the *dies coronae*. Although by usage the word *corona* is worn down to mean but little more than reward, yet it still contains the idea of victory: *Coronae enim dies expectatur ab omnibus ut intra eum diem et victi erubescant et victores palmam adipiscantur virtoriae*<sup>3)</sup>. Then again the idea of a prominent place in heaven, the *consortium* with the apostles and patriarchs and the idea of the *angeli deducentes* play an important part. This applies in the first place to the Christian hero, the martyr: *Post momentum, immo adhuc in corpore positus videt deducentium choros, angelorum gaudia — qui enim super unius peccatoris conversione laetantur, quanto magis in passione iustorum! — videt gloriam et ait: me expectaverunt iusti, ut deducerent me, videt Dominum Iesum et ait: me expectavit Christus, ut coronaret me*<sup>4)</sup>. But the *sanctae virgines* too may look forward to it: *Sed tunc nobilitatem istam patriae possidebitis, si Christum intra civitatis huius septa quaeratis, ingressi per fidem actusque pretiosos, patriarcharum clarificati lumine, fundati super apostolos, versantes inter angelos*<sup>5)</sup>. And St. Ambrose uses it as a motive to rouse the enthusiasm of the ordinary Christians: *quanto nobis gloriosius erit et iocundius ad meliores pergere et conversari cum his quorum facta miramur*<sup>6)</sup>. — *His igitur freti intrepide per-*

1) Isaac 5,47 (CSEL 32,1, p. 672,4ff.).

2) Hex. 4,2,7 (CSEL 32,1, p. 115,13).

3) Bon. mort. 10,46 (CSEL 32,1, p. 742,9-11).

4) In psalm. 118 serm. 12,43,3 (CSEL 62, p. 277,2).

5) Virginit. 14,87 (PL 16,288 C).

6) Bon. mort. 12,50 (CSEL 32,1, p. 747,1-3).

*gamus ad redemptorem nostrum Iesum, intrepide ad patriarcharum concilium, intrepide ad Abraham patrem nostrum, cum dies advenit, proficiscamur. Intrepide pergamus ad illum sanctorum coetum iustorumque conventum*<sup>1)</sup>. And with even more emphasis it is applied to the emperor, e.g. in the funeral oration on Theodosius: *Sed nunc illic Theodosius potentior, nunc gloriosior redit, quem angelorum caterva deducit, quem sanctorum turba prosequitur*<sup>2)</sup>. Thus in heaven the just from high to low will not only have peace and share in God's splendour, but also receive the place and honour they deserve: *Non pigeat ergo nos hic leviora deferre, ut ibi plena laudis et gloriae possimus adipisci*<sup>3)</sup>.

Yet in the concept of the *gloria caelestis* the element of light always held a prominent place, firstly because of the great influence of biblical texts and ideas and secondly because the light-motif played an important part in the profane conceptions of the life hereafter.

#### 4. Résumé.

With regard to *gloria* we may say: in strictly theological writings and sometimes in sermons and in liturgical language *gloria* has the abstract meaning of divinity, the divine nature proper to the Father, the Son and the Spirit. Used in this meaning it has lost the epiphanic idea. And yet *gloria*, if thus used, has a more sacred and biblical character than *divinitas* or *natura divina*.

In the general language of the Christians *gloria Dei* has the biblical meaning of God's dazzling appearance and splendour.

When applied to Christ *gloria* usually indicates His full splendour, which implicitly comprises His power and especially His brilliance as the source of all light, and which often includes the renown of His victory which He gained over the devil by His death and resurrection. Sometimes the element of renown is very evident, but those cases are comparatively rare.

When applied to man *gloria* usually indicates heavenly happiness, rarely his splendour on earth as the effect of grace. Prominent features of this heavenly happiness are the glorification of the body and the vision of God's glory. Besides, *gloria* retains the sense of renown, especially in *gloria martyrum*, also in the renown

1) *Bon. mort.* 12,52 (CSEL 32,1, p. 747,15-19).

2) *Obit. Theod.* 56.

3) *In psalm.* 37,59 (CSEL 64, p. 183,7).

of the virgins, the virtuous, of eminent bishops and emperors. Often the two meanings of resplendent light and renown combine: said of a living person the idea of renown is usually more prominent, but used of a departed Christian the aspect of light comes more to the fore. *Gloria* is still frequent in its profane sense, sometimes in a favourable sense now. In some cases *gloria* has a profane and a Christian aspect at the same time, e.g. when it is used of a Christian emperor.

*Gloriosus* follows *gloria* nearly in all its meanings. But more so than *gloria* it retains the meaning of renown, and therefore is mostly used of men.

*Glorificare* means to praise, to extol, sometimes also in a profane sense (*se glorificare* = *iactare*). Besides it also means to invest with *gloria*<sup>1)</sup>.

*Claritas* is often used in the profane meaning of light, like *claritudo*, light, clarity, brightness. They sometimes designate God's splendour in general, but usually His dazzling brilliance. Only once, in Christology, does it signify divinity. It is also applied to men; in such cases it indicates his *claritas futura*, especially the *claritas carnis*, though St. Ambrose sometimes speaks of the *claritas virtutis*.

The adjective belonging to *claritas* is *praeclarus*; its occurrence is fairly frequent, because *gloriosus* is rather restricted to the meaning of renowned.

*Clarificare* means to make bright, to lighten, cp. *diem sol clarificat*<sup>2)</sup>. It also signifies to make God known, to praise<sup>3)</sup>. Finally it is used as follows: to invest a person with the *claritas carnis*, and thus applied to Christ and to men.

*Maiestas* is only predicated of God. It first of all indicates His power, and then His imposing appearance. In technical theological language it often stands for the divine nature.

*Magnificare* is but seldom used by St. Ambrose, only in explicit or implicit quotations from Scripture<sup>4)</sup>.

*Honorificare* and *honorificentia* occur more frequently. *Honorificentia* also occurs in a profane meaning: honour, privilege. It usually indicates God's splendour, His praise, or even His divinity;

1) *Spir.* 2,8,83 (PL 16,761 A).

2) *Hex.* 1,9,35 (CSEL 32,1, p. 38,1).

3) E.g. in *Luc.* 10,3 (CSEL 32,4, p. 455,11).

4) In *psalm.* 40,24,1 (CSEL 64, p. 245,3), *Graecus... dixit, hoc est 'magnificavit'...*



thus St. Ambrose says somewhere: *praerogativam eius paternae honorificentiae reservavit* <sup>1)</sup>).

In this review of St. Ambrose's usage of words we have a picture of his time: a partial 'rapprochement' of Christianity towards profane tradition, a deeper penetration of biblical ideas, the development of theology in consequence of the Arian controversy, and a powerful influence of the light-symbolism on the conception of Christ. The chief point of difference with the third century is the fact that *gloria* no longer has that uniform sense of renown; this shows that the emotional content of the concept of *gloria* had markedly declined.

#### D. ST. AUGUSTINE

In St. Augustine too the usage of *gloria* reflects the influences of his profane literary education, the Scriptures, the prevailing theological tendencies and the liturgy. In St. Ambrose those elements remained more or less independent of each other. But St. Augustine, who was a greater personality and a more original and independent thinker than St. Ambrose, introduced more unity and consistency into his usage of the concept of *gloria*. It is none the less a fact that he uses the word *gloria* in many nuances and in widely different meanings. It is no easy task to give a correct and rather complete idea of it.

St. Augustine is the most authentic and most comprehensive source of information of early-Christian Latin, since he made himself consciously familiar with the Christian idiom and used it as such <sup>2)</sup>). If we turn to his writings, we should bear in mind that St. Augustine only gradually became acquainted with this Christian idiom. Nor should we forget that he consciously adapted his language and style to the people he addressed and to the subject he dealt with. As basis for this discussion we have taken especially the *Sermones ad populum* and the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, because in them the Christian idiom is most natural and pure and St. Augustine approaches most nearly to the colloquial language of the Christians. His commentary on the gospel of St. John is practically on a level with the sermons; and the same may be said of his other exegetical works in so far as they are not purely

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1) *Fid.* 5,5,64 (PL 16,662 B).

2) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Sint Augustinus' preken voor het volk*, p. XXVII.

scientific. His ascetic-monastic writings form a separate category. In them we meet especially with the idea of the *gloria sanctorum*, with which we dealt before. Then there are the strictly theological works; in them we often meet with *gloria* in a biblical sense besides the christological *gloria* in the sense of divine nature, which occurs especially in *De Trinitate*. St. Augustine's letters can hardly be considered as one whole, as they differ very widely in form and contents; sometimes they are theological treatises, sometimes only brief communications. We shall fit them in under the categories to which they belong. The *Confessiones* and *De civitate Dei* are independent works. The style St. Augustine uses in the *Confessiones* can be called Christian: many antitheses, rhyme etc. Its sphere is lyrical, its vocabulary is not unconditionally Christian, which is clearly brought out by the use of the word *gloria*. In the *Confessiones* St. Augustine uses *gloria* several times in a profane sense. A few times he says to God: *tibi gloria*<sup>1)</sup>, *nostra gloria tu esto*<sup>2)</sup> and *claritas mea*<sup>3)</sup>. But apart from explicit quotations from Scripture nowhere in the *Confessiones* do we meet with the word *gloria* or *claritas* in a specifically Christian or biblical sense. Although in the *Confessiones* St. Augustine often calls God the *lumen* and the *lux* which dispels the *tenebrae* by *inluminare* and *illustrare*, he never uses *gloria* or *claritas* to indicate God's brilliant splendour<sup>4)</sup>. In the *Confessiones* St. Augustine is the Christian stylist, who is very exclusive in his use of the new vocabulary of Christian Latin and who, though biblical, is purposely non-theological in his terminology<sup>5)</sup>. In *De civitate Dei*, on the contrary, St. Augustine is the bishop, who handles Christian Latin with ease, but makes due allowance for his pagan audience. He does use *gloria* in a biblical sense, though very rarely, but uses it very frequently in the sense of Christian renown. As we pointed out before, he even makes the antithesis between the renown of Rome and the *gloria* of the *Civitas Dei* one of the central ideas of his argument. Hence *De civitate Dei* has not much to offer either for our present discussion.

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1) *Conf.* 6,16,26.

2) *Conf.* 10,36,59.

3) *Conf.* 9,1,1.

4) *Conf.* 9, especially 10,23-26.

5) CHR. MOHRMANN, *Comment Saint Augustin s'est familiarisé avec le latin des chrétiens*, Augustinus Magister, I Comm., p. 111-116; P. FINAERT, *L'évolution littéraire de Saint Augustin*, p. 54ff.

So the sermons and kindred works are our starting-point. Again we have to call attention to a certain stylistic phenomenon which we find in his works and especially in his sermons. St. Augustine likes to make use of parallelisms and antitheses and to accentuate them by means of rhyme or alliteration<sup>1)</sup>. It goes without saying that this inclination often influenced his choice of words: thus *humilitas* and *infirmetas* are always placed in opposition to *maiestas*, *claritas* and *potestas*, especially in the genitive and ablative cases, while *gloria* is specially used in contrast to *ignominia*, *contumelia* and *obprobria*, and sometimes to *poena*<sup>2)</sup>. It is evident that those combinations need not necessarily be based on precise semantic antitheses; similarity of sound may often be a sufficient explanation. But because those antitheses are so extremely frequent, the aspect of honour and renown in *gloria* is very pronounced, while, on the contrary, the element of light in *claritas* recedes into the background by being used in contrast to *humilitas*.

Another point to note is that St. Augustine with his sensitive ear for sounds and words gives more attention to linguistic phenomena than most of other ancient authors. He likes to refer to the Greek equivalent or to the original meaning of a Latin word and to split up words into their component parts. In connexion with *maiestas* and *magnificare* he often plays with the word *magnus* and its opposites<sup>3)</sup>. To *claritas* and *clarificatio* he attaches various new meanings which imply the element of light and brightness, e.g. the *clarificatio* at the Last Judgement consists in an elucidation of our conscience<sup>4)</sup>. He also refers to *δόξα* and *δοξάζειν*<sup>5)</sup>. According to him the essential meaning of *gloria* is expressed in the Ciceronian definition, *frequens fama cum laude*<sup>6)</sup>. He also gives the classical definition of *magnificentia*<sup>7)</sup>. All those factors influenced St. Augustine in his interpretation and usage of these words.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that, despite his originality and genius, St. Augustine was fully alive to tradition both profane

1) MOHRMANN, *Augustinus' preken*, p. XLIII.

2) *Claritas* - *humilitas*, e.g. *serm.* 184,1,1 (PL 38,995); *gloria* - *ignominia*, e.g. *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 5,63 (PL 45,1502), *gloria* - *contumelia*, e.g. *trin.* 14,18,24 (PL 42,1055).

3) Cf. *in psalm.* 103 *serm.* 1,3 (PL 37,1337).

4) *In psalm.* 87,13 (PL 37,1118).

5) *In evang. Ioh.* 104,17,3 (PL 35,1903); 105,17,3 (PL 35,1905).

6) *In evang. Ioh.* 100,16,1 (PL 35,1891).

7) *Divers. quaest.* 31,1 (PL 40,21). *Magnificentia est rerum magnarum et excelsarum cum animi ampla quadam et splendida probositione agitatio atque administratio.*

and Christian. He had absorbed the profane culture and literature of Rome and was at the same time the greatest thinker and author of Christian Antiquity. He was conversant with the literature of both the East and the West. He was particularly well versed in the Scriptures and imbued with their spirit. This is especially true of the idea of *δόξα*. The *doctor gratiae* very frequently (and preferably) quotes from the epistles of St. Paul. Discussing man's state of justification he declares — he understands St. Paul in this sense — that it consists in a participation in glory: *omnes homines egent gloria Dei*. Christ delivers man from original sin and makes him participate in His glory: therefore the life of a Christian is a progression from glory to glory. The important *δόξα*-texts of St. Paul form the basis for his view of man's sinfulness and justification<sup>1</sup>). We shall see, therefore, in what follows that though St. Augustine had a thorough knowledge of tradition and had absorbed it, to him Scripture was the determinant factor.

### 1. *Gloria Dei*.

To St. Augustine mankind is divided into two distinct groups: people who seek their own glory, the *civitas terrena*, and people who seek the *gloria Dei*, the Christians<sup>2</sup>). Every man ought to seek the glory of God; the aim of man's life is God; this plan of God has been impaired by original sin, and in this present order it can only be realized with great difficulty. For this reason St. Augustine never tires of exhorting the Christians to direct their lives towards the glorification of God by word and deed. But St. Augustine not only was a great theologian, but also moved completely in the biblical sphere of thought. He knew that man cannot add anything to God and that therefore man's glorification of God is nothing but a humble acknowledgement of His greatness: *Maior gloria erit Deo, quia glorificas eum? aut addimus gloriam Deo, quando ei dicimus 'glorifico te, Deus meus'? aut sanctiorem eum facimus, quando dicimus 'benedico te, Deus meus'? Ipse quando nos benedicit, facit nos sanctiores. facit nos feliciores; quando nos glorificat, facit nos gloriosiores, facit nos honoratiores; quando eum glorificamus, nobis prodest, non illi. Quomodo enim eum glorificamus? Gloriosum dicendo, non faciendo*<sup>3</sup>).

1) *Rom.* 3.23; 2 *Cor.* 4.17-18; 3.18; *Phil.* 3.21, etc.

2) Cf. *supra* p. 82.

3) In *psalm.* 39,4 (PL 36,435-436).

His answer to the question in what this glory and greatness of God, which we acknowledge, consist, is completely on scriptural lines. He is familiar with the brilliant splendour and manifestations of power with which God was wont to appear in the Old Testament. He indicates them by *gloria*<sup>1)</sup>, and sometimes by *claritas*<sup>2)</sup>. But these presentations do not dominate his idea of God. He is more influenced by the Pauline and Johannine concept of *δόξα*, especially in his views on original sin and grace. He places man's sinfulness and his own impotence first: man's existence lacks real greatness and needs God's greatness, *omnes homines peccatores sunt et egent gloriam Dei*<sup>3)</sup>. This want is supplied by God, the sinner is justified by God's grace; in this God's greatness is demonstrated, because this whole process depends on God, not on man, and every co-operation on the part of man is preceded by some action on the part of God: *Glorificatus Pater qui est in coelis, qui ea iustificatis impiis donare dignatus est*<sup>4)</sup>. Elsewhere he describes this process of justification in greater detail: '*Confessio et magnificentia opus eius*'. *Quid magnificentius quam iustificare impium? Sed opus fortasse hominis praevenit istam magnificentiam Dei, ut cum fuerit peccata confessus, iustificari mereatur... Unde ergo illa confessio? Nondum quippe opus est iustitiae, sed delicti improbatio: sed quoquomodo se habeat, nec in ipsa de te, homo, glorieris... Non ergo sola magnificentia qua iustificatur impius, sed et confessio et magnificentia opus ejus*<sup>5)</sup>. God's greatness and glory lie primarily in the justification and sanctification of the sinner: *Audi iam et ubi videtur magnificatus Deus nimis, semper magnus; magnificatus enim nimis in operibus suis ad nos*<sup>6)</sup>. Not only the change effected in man by justification, but also every deed of the justified man is the outcome of God's operation in the soul. Hence it is that every act of the Christian is in itself a manifestation of God's greatness in the visible world: *Per bona opera vestra glorificent Patrem vestrum... ille glorificetur, qui vobis hoc praestitit*<sup>7)</sup>. Subjectively the Christian must have the intention to manifest the

1) E.g. *quaest. hept.* 2,176 (CSEL 28,2, p. 203,26).

2) *Gen. ad litt.* 12,27 (CSEL 28,2, p. 421,16).

3) *Rom.* 3,23; cf. K. JANSSEN, *Die Entstehung der Gnadenlehre Augustins* p. 36ff; E. BRAEM, *Augustinus' Leer over de heiligmakende genade*, Augustiniana, 1 (1950), p. 7-20, 77-90, 153-178.

4) *Serm.* 54,2,3 (PL 38,374).

5) *In psalm.* 110,3 (PL 37,1464-1465).

6) *In psalm.* 103 *serm.* 1,3 (PL 37,1337).

7) *Serm.* 289,6 (PL 38,1312).

*gloria Dei* and not to seek his own glory, even though this should not be perceptible outwardly: *Utrum laudem suam ibi quaerat, an gloriam Dei, nullus hominum videt. nullus hominum iudicat: sed tamen illi qui studio benevolo ad imitandum parati sunt, quod bonum fieri vident, etiam pro animo fieri credunt; et laudant Deum, cuius praecepto et dono talia fieri vident. Apparet ergo opus ejus, ut videant homines et glorificent Patrem ...*<sup>1)</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the text of *Matth. 5.16 videant opera vestra bona et glorificent Patrem* occurs very frequently in St. Augustine, and that he always adds to it in some way or other that a Christian act is only possible by the *praeceptum* and the *donum* of God, i.e. because in His commandments God has laid down how we should act and by granting us His grace enables us to effect the act<sup>2)</sup>. In this connexion he also brings up *Ioh. 15.8: In hoc clarificatus est Pater meus, ut fructum plurimum afferatis et efficiamini mei discipuli*, and refers then to *Rom. 4.2: Si enim Abraham ex operibus iustificatus est, habet gloriam, sed non apud Deum*. St. Augustine adds to it: *Haec est ad Deum gloria qua glorificatur non homo, sed Deus, si non ex operibus, sed ex fide iustificatur, ut ex Deo illi sit quod etiam bene operatur ... Non hoc gloriae nostrae tribuamus tamquam hoc ex nobis ipsis habeamus*<sup>3)</sup>.

To St. Augustine, therefore, the *gloria Dei* is not primarily His brilliant splendour or His external miraculous works, but His activity in man's inner nature: *Haec est magnificentia Domini, iustificatio peccatoris*<sup>4)</sup>. St. Augustine wished to emphasize the fact that the process of justification depends on God. In this way St. Augustine wanted to show man's impotence against the greatness of God, and thus state his view and take up his stand in the disputes about grace and liberty, which raged in his time. That is also the reason why he repeatedly said that the Christian manifested God's greatness by his good deeds, and that therefore he should not seek his own glory in them but the *gloria Dei*. The result was that in such instances *gloria* and *glorificare* often approached very nearly to the meaning of 'honour' and 'to honour', as is also

1) *Serm.* 149,12,13 (PL 38,804).

2) Cf. *in psalm.* 105,3 (PL 37,1407); *serm.* 54,2,3-4 (PL 38,373-374); *serm.* 289,6 (PL 38,1312); *serm.* 149,13,14 (PL 38,805); *serm.* 149,12,13 (PL 38,804).

3) *In evang. Ioh.* 82,15,1 (PL 35,1842-1843).

4) *In psalm.* 110,3 (PL 37,1464).

the case with *δοξάζειν* in St. John. It is not impossible that in this point St. Augustine was also influenced by the profane meaning of *gloria*.

An interesting point in this connexion is that several times St. Augustine uses *magnificentia* and *magnificare* by the side of *gloria* and *glorificare*. Those words belonged to the early Bible-translations<sup>1)</sup>: the peculiarity is that here they acquire a special meaning. We have seen that in this trend of thought *gloria* designated God's greatness manifesting itself in its activity regarding man's justification and the acts of the justified. Now *magnificentia* was a suitable word to express this idea, because it indicates a greatness which shows itself in deeds: *Magnificentia est rerum magnarum et excelsarum cum animi ampla quadam et splendida propositione agitatio atque administratio*<sup>2)</sup>. And to express the meaning of acknowledging and praising God's greatness *magnificare* is a clearer and more explicit term than *glorificare*, as also appears from another text of St. Augustine: *magnificetur ut glorificet*, 'let us glorify God that He may invest us with eternal glory afterwards'<sup>3)</sup>.

In St. Augustine's comments on the doctrine of the Trinity we find *gloria* and *maiestas* sometimes used in the sense of divinity or divine nature. Both St. Augustine and Julian speak of the *gloria divinitatis*<sup>4)</sup>. In another place there is mention of *divinitas maiestatis suae*<sup>5)</sup>. *Una est in Trinitate substantia deitatis, una virtus, una potestas, una maiestas, unum nomen divinitatis*<sup>6)</sup>. Yet *gloria* and *maiestas* are not so frequently used in this sense as by St. Ambrose, because at the time of St. Augustine the controversies regarding Arianism had, for the most part, come to an end, and in *De Trinitate* St. Augustine was more preoccupied with speculations concerning the nature of the relations within the Trinity.

*Maiestas* is also used of God to indicate His power and His exaltedness. About the miracles of Ancona St. Augustine says: *indico vobis unum quod ibi factum est, ut videatis quanta sit ibi*

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1) In St. Augustine also it mostly occurs in quotations from Scripture, cf. in *psalm.* 95,8 (PL 37,1233); 107,1 (PL 37,1430); 125,9 (PL 37,1663); 65,5 (PL 36,789); *serm.* 103,3,4 (PL 38,614).

2) *Divers. quaest.* 31,1 (PL 40,21).

3) In *psalm.* 69,6 (PL 36,871).

4) *C. Iul. op. imperf.* 1,30 (PL 45,1062); cf. T. J. V. BAVEL, *Recherches sur la Christologie de Saint Augustin*, p. 45ff.

5) *C. Faust.* 14,7 (CSEL 25,1, p. 408,11).

6) *Serm.* 115,8 (PL 38,1076).

*praesentia maiestatis*<sup>1)</sup>. *Magnificentia* indicates God's greatness in so far as it is manifested in its activities on behalf of man, while *maiestas* signifies God's exaltedness inasmuch as it is distinguished from human qualities and is set off by His *bonitas*<sup>2)</sup>. *Ineffabilis* is the regular epitheton of *maiestas*, *de qua quicquid dictum fuerit, indigne dicitur, quia omnes opes linguarum omnium ineffabili sublimitate praecedit*<sup>3)</sup>. It is significant, too, that *maiestas* is never used of men; in this the influence of St. Ambrose is still making itself felt.

Finally, the *gloria Patris* is involved wherever the *gloria Christi* is concerned. Since the Word possesses the Essence of the Father and His acts are the acts of the Father, it is also the greatness of the Father that is manifested in the Essence and the acts of the *Verbum*.

## 2. *Gloria Christi*.

St. Augustine's idea of the *gloria Christi* is dominated by his conception of the person of Christ. He distinguishes, on the one side, His *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas* and on the other His *humilitas*, *infirmetas* and *ignominia*. Although he knows that in Christ His divinity and His humanity form a substantial unity, he can only consider them antithetically. For the *claritas* and the *maiestas Christi* do not primarily mean to him the divine nature of Christ, but rather His divine power and splendour as revealed to mankind. The *infirmetas* or *humanitas* calls up a picture in his mind of the human impotence, humiliation and destitution which the Word took upon Him at the incarnation.

St. Augustine's conception of Christ may be summarized as follows: from all eternity the Word possessed the fulness of the divine splendour with the Father. But by the incarnation this splendour enveloped itself in the cloak of human weakness. He Who had created time was born in time. He Who had created man was born of man. The Creator of the riches of this world subjected Himself to hunger, poverty and cold. He accepted the whole of human existence, all the needs and sinfulness of man. *Humanitas* does not mean human nature, nor *humilitas* lowliness,

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1) *Serm.* 323,2,3 (PL 38,1446).

2) *Serm.* 103 *serm.* 2,5 (PL 38,1353): *omnia continet maiestate, et nos bonitate*.

3) *C. Adim.* 7 (CSEL 25,1, p. 129,21).



but applied to Christ they both indicate human existence, the 'condition humaine', in which He made His *claritas* disappear at the incarnation. This *humilitas* involved, as a consequence, the ruin and destruction of His earthly existence by His passion and His death on the cross. But His undoing was at the same time the beginning of His *glorificatio*, which consists in His *gloria* or *claritas* breaking through human and earthly limitations and becoming manifest to mankind. This is a gradual process with several phases: the resurrection, the ascension, the sending of the Holy Ghost and the founding of the Church, the spiritual growth of the Church and the expansion of Christianity throughout the *orbis terrarum* and lastly the final revelation of His glory by His *adventus in claritate*, which completes the development begun with the *adventus in humilitate* and changes the *humilitas* completely into *claritas*.

It is certainly surprising that St. Augustine places the resurrection and the ascension and the expansion of the Church all on the same level and considers them as successive phases of the same development. St. Augustine regards the whole work of redemption as a gradual manifestation of Christ's glory. This process comprises both His own humanity and the destinies of all men. His resurrection and ascension primarily concern His own humanity, but at the same time they are of great importance for all men. For His glorification sets a precedent for the glorification of men and also prepares the coming of the Holy Ghost, who according to Christ's promise would be sent *glorificato Iesu* and whose coming signified the actual founding of the Church. This founding of the Church as well as her life and expansion signify an ever growing penetration of the *gloria Christi* in the world. St. Augustine witnessed this penetration into public life in his own days, although he saw many dark sides as well. But they too would disappear entirely before the full revelation of Christ's glory at the end of time.

We shall now state this line of thought more in detail in the light of St. Augustine's own words.

Many times Christ had said that from all eternity He possessed the splendour with the Father. This splendour He had never laid down, consequently nothing could really be added to it, except its being made more widely known among men: *multa locutus est de spiritu sancto paraclete, quem missurus eis erat, et de sua clari-*

ficatione, quam habuit apud Patrem, priusquam mundus esset<sup>1)</sup>. Christ hoped that man, who had lost the knowledge of His splendour through the fall of man, might regain this knowledge. Thus St. Augustine makes Christ say to His Father: *Tu es qui restitues mihi haereditatem meam: ut nota sit et his, quos libero, claritas qua eram apud te priusquam mundus fieret (Iob. 17.5): non enim restitues mihi quod non amisi, sed restitues his qui amiserunt eius claritatis notitiam; in quibus quia ego sum, mihi restitues*<sup>2)</sup>. In those words Christ strongly emphasizes His oneness with all men by aligning Himself with those who have lost the *claritatis notitiam*. Here too He considers the fruit of the redemption as a heritage which is equally due to Himself and to all men.

At His birth the *Verbum Dei* clothed His glory in weakness, He hid His divine majesty in the flesh. St. Augustine emphasizes in all his Christmas sermons that Christ did not lay down His glory, but only hid it. Like St. Ambrose he explains the *exinanitio* on these lines: *ita exinanivit, ut assumeret quod non erat, non ut amitteret quod erat. Quomodo ergo exinanivit? Quia talis tibi apparuit, quia tibi dignitatem quam apud Patrem habet, non demonstravit; quia tibi nunc obtulit infirmitatem, servavit purgato postea claritatem*<sup>3)</sup>. This entry into the flesh and into the world was the *adventus in humilitate*<sup>4)</sup>, the beginning of His existence in weakness and suffering: *Fuit irrisibilis quodammodo et reprehensibilis inter Iudaeos, visus est humilis, contemptus est. Occultabat enim maiestatem, promptam habebat infirmitatem*<sup>5)</sup>. This *humilitas* of Christ sometimes assumes the meaning of humility, notably when His obedience is referred to: *Subiectus est homini, sed in forma hominis*. To this St. Augustine adds for the sake of his audience: *Noluit etenim tibi dare claritatem, nisi prius te doceret humilitatem*<sup>6)</sup>. Yet all the time St. Augustine stresses the difference between Christ and other men: *Dominus et Johannes, humilitas et claritas: Deus humilis in claritate, homo humilis in infirmitate*<sup>7)</sup>.

The extreme consequence of His incarnation was His passion

1) *Cons. evang.* 4,10,19 (CSEL 43, p. 414,9).

2) *In psalm.* 15,5 (PL 36,145).

3) *In psalm.* 59 *serm.* 1,10 (PL 36,679).

4) *Divers. Quaest.* 58,3 (PL 40,44); 59,4 (PL 40,48).

5) *Serm.* 87,7,9 (PL 38,534).

6) *Serm. Lambot*, RB 60 (1950), p. 12,6.

7) *Serm.* 380,7,7 (PL 39,1682). Cf. E. DEKKERS, *De Humilitate*, Horae monasticae I, Tiel 1947, p. 69ff.

ending in His death on the cross. Then He accepted the fulness of human misery and sinfulness, of pain, anguish and ignominy. By His death on the cross Christ aligned Himself with the lowest and most despicable class of men of His time, with the slaves and the crucified criminals; He made the Jews and the wealthier heathens conceive a most positive aversion to Him: *Per diabolicam quippe superbiam factum est, ut Christi gloriam perversi et caeci principes Judaeorum invidissent: per hoc vitium factum est et fit, ut Christi usque ad mortem crucifixi humilitas vilescat eis qui huius saeculi diligunt excellentiam*<sup>1)</sup>. But this deep *humilitas* meant redemption for mankind and so was at the same time the beginning of the *glorificatio*. By accepting the *humilitas crucis* Christ gave to human misery and human limitation a new meaning transcending all external perfectionism: *evacuavit omnem principatum et omnem potestatem et virtutem, dum non per claritatem eius, sed per humilitatem salvi fiunt credentes in eum*<sup>2)</sup>. The cross divides mankind into two groups, protagonists and antagonists, and therefore signifies the judgement which anticipates the judgement of Christ at the end of time: *Crux Christi in medio non fuit supplicium, sed tribunal: ... hoc faciet in claritate, quod fecit in humilitate*<sup>3)</sup>. All this glory, which will reach its completion at the Last Judgement, originates with the cross; the *humilitas* opens the road that leads to the glorification: *De morte enim resurrectio, de resurrectione ascensio, de ascensione ad dexteram sessio: hoc totum ergo coepit a morte. Excellentia claritatis huius principium habet humilitatis*<sup>4)</sup>. Theologically more exact are the following words in which St. Augustine describes the relation between *humilitas* and *claritas*: *Humilitas claritatis est meritum; claritas humilitatis est praemium*<sup>5)</sup>.

When discussing *glorificatio* and *clarificatio* St. Augustine distinguishes a *clarificatio aeterna*, which the *Verbum* possessed from eternity and never laid down, and a *clarificatio secundum suscepti hominis formam*. The latter was effected by the resurrection and the ascension; since this glorification concerned the flesh, the Body, which He had assumed, it was the most tangible transition from *humilitas* to *claritas*. The significance, however, of this

1) *In psalm.* 81,6 (PL 37,1050).

2) *Divers. quaest.* 69,9 (PL 40,78).

3) *Serm.* 285,2 (PL 38,1294).

4) *In psalm.* 109,11 (PL 37,1454).

5) *In evang. Iob.* 104,17,3 (PL 35,1903).

corporeal glorification goes further: the resurrection and the ascension had for their object the sanctification of men and the founding of the Church, or briefly the mission of the Holy Ghost. This is the beginning of the glorification of Christ, so far as it is concerned with the mystical Body of Christ. This *gloria Christi* remains internal, certainly in the beginning, and is confined to the inner sanctification of men. But in the fourth century the Church emerged from the external *humilitas* of the ages and appeared in full *claritas*, thus adding a new aspect to the *clarificatio Christi*.

The Body of Christ was delivered from death and glorified by the resurrection, it obtained entrance to heaven and a place at the right hand of the Father by the ascension: *Duae sunt glorificationes secundum suscepti hominis formam: una, qua resurrexit a mortuis tertio die, alia, qua ascendit in coelum ante oculos discipulorum suorum*<sup>1</sup>). At present Christ's humanity sits glorified beside the Father: *Iamvero quanta gloria est quod ascendit in coelum, quod sedit ad dexteram Patris*<sup>2</sup>). — *Glorificatio domini nostri Jesu Christi resurgendo et ascendendo completa est*<sup>3</sup>). For this glorification meant to Christ's humanity the liberation from death and mortality, the liberation from the *terrena humilitas*, the manifestation of His divine greatness breaking through the weakness of the flesh: '*elevata est magnificentia tua super coelos*'; *ut sit iste sensus: Domine qui es dominus noster, quam te admirantur omnes qui incolunt terram! quoniam tua magnificentia de terrena humilitate super coelos elevata est. Hinc enim apparuit quis descenderis, cum a quibusdam visum est et a ceteris creditum quo ascenderis*<sup>4</sup>).

Now a new phase commenced, the *clarificatio Christi in gentibus*<sup>5</sup>), which would be realized in the founding and the life of the Church. The founding of the Church, or the mission of the Holy Ghost, was not possible, as St. Augustine repeatedly asserts, until the redemption was completed. And this completion was only achieved by the resurrection and the ascension, for: *morte sua... quidquid culparum erat... purgavit, abolevit, extinxit; et sua resurrectione in novam vitam nos praedestinos vocavit, vocatos iustificavit, iustificatos glorificavit*<sup>6</sup>). — *Resurrectio Domini spes*

1) *Serm.* 265,3,8 (PL 38,1222).

2) *Serm.* 263,2 (PL 38,1210).

3) *Serm.* 263,1 (PL 38,1209).

4) *In psalm.* 8,4 (PL 36,110).

5) *In psalm.* 45,15 (PL 36,524).

6) *Trin.* 4,13,17 (PL 42,899).

nostra; ascensio Domini glorificatio nostra<sup>1</sup>). Only when the redemption was completed, there was purpose in founding the Church, for then Christ could also provide her with the means to carry out her task, then He could send her the Holy Ghost: *Hoc itaque donum Spiritus sancti est, quod post suam clarificationem dedit Ecclesiae*<sup>2</sup>). — *Ad hoc ergo resurrexit Dominus et glorificatus est, ut mitteret Spiritum sanctum*<sup>3</sup>). The object of Christ's *clarificatio secundum formam hominis* was therefore the founding of the Church; its purpose was to furnish the Church with the graces of the redemption and to entrust her with the economy of salvation: *Constituet ecclesias; tempore suo, id est, postquam clarificatus est resurrectione et ascensione in coelum. Tunc enim Spiritu sancto misso apostolis, et eis in fiducia sui confirmatis et directis in populos, fructificavit ecclesias*<sup>4</sup>). The connexion between the *clarificatio* and the mission of the Holy Ghost is so close according to St. Augustine, that this mission is also effected in stages just like the *clarificatio*: *Clarificatio enim domini nostri apud homines resurrectio est a mortuis et in coelum ascensio. Scriptum est autem in ipso evangelio κατὰ Ἰωάννην: 'spiritus autem nondum erat datus, quia Iesus nondum erat clarificatus'. Si ergo propterea nondum erat datus, quia Iesus nondum erat clarificatus, clarificato Iesu necessario statim datus est. Et propter ipsam geminam clarificationem, secundum hominem et secundum deum, bis datus est etiam spiritus sanctus: semel postquam resurrexit a mortuis, cum insufflat in faciem discipulorum dicens: 'accipite spiritum sanctum'; et iterum postquam ascendit in caelum*<sup>5</sup>). St. Augustine expresses the same idea in another place in these words: *Glorificatus Dominus resurgendo, commendat Ecclesiam: glorificandus ascendendo commendat Ecclesiam: spiritum sanctum mittens de coelis commendat Ecclesiam*<sup>6</sup>) (the first two *commendationes* refer to what Christ says in *Luc.* 14.44-47 and *Act.* 1.8). St. Peter is given special mention: *Revera enim statim ut transiit maiestas Domini in clarificatione Domini qua resurgens ascendit ad Patrem, solidati sumus super petram. Et ipse Petrus tunc solidatus est*<sup>7</sup>). The idea that the

1) *Serm.* 261,1,1 (PL 38,1202).

2) *Divers. Quaest.* 64,4 (PL 40,56).

3) *In psalm.* 90 *serm.* 2,8 (PL 37,1167).

4) *In psalm.* 1,3 (PL 36,69).

5) *C. epist. fund.* 10 (CSEL 25,1, p. 205,17-24).

6) *Serm.* 265,10,12 (PL 38,1224), *prima commendatio*, cf. *Luc.* 14.44-47; *secunda commendatio*, cf. *act.* 1.8.

7) *Trin.* 2,17,30 (PL 42,865).

glorification of Christ's humanity was directed to the redemption of man and the founding of the Church as the concrete expression of the dispensation of grace was very important in St. Augustine's thought, and generally played a more important part with the Fathers of the Church than with later theologians. This idea is therefore prominent not only in St. Augustine's theological treatises but also in his sermons addressed to his Christians. Only if we follow closely this point of St. Augustine's trend of thought, shall we be able to see how he draws an uninterrupted line from Christ's resurrection and ascension to the Church's dispensation of grace and her external expansion and prosperity in the fourth century, and considers all those factors as so many phases in Christ's glorification.

The following phase in Christ's glorification is therefore His *clarificatio* in so far as it takes place in the life of the Church. It is in the preaching and in the activity of the Church that the *magnificentia* of Christ is manifested, as St. Augustine states in his comment on the following text from the psalms: *Magnificavit super omne nomen sanctum suum* (psalm. 137.2): *Inde Dominus Christus, mortuus propter peccata nostra, resurgens propter justificationem nostram* (Rom. 4.25), *implens fideles spiritu sancto, mittens praedicari per gentes, 'Agite poenitentiam, appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum'* (Matth. 3.2): *et ecce magnificavit super omne nomen sanctum suum*<sup>1</sup>). The *gloria Christi* manifests itself especially in the Church's dispensation of grace, in the justification of the faithful. The effecting of the redemption in men is in fact nothing else but the penetration of the *gloria Christi* into the world. St. Augustine gives expression to this idea especially when he discusses the text *coeli enarrant gloriam Dei*, and in particular in his *Enarrationes in Psalmum XVIII*. By the heavens are meant in the first place the Evangelists who proclaim the greatness of Christ, which is ultimately the Father's: *Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei: iusti evangelistae, in quibus Deus tamquam in coelis habitat, exponunt gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sive gloriam qua glorificavit Patrem Filius super terram*<sup>2</sup>). In the second place the Apostles as such play a very important part: *Ipsi enarrant gloriam Dei, positam in Christo Iesu, per gratiam in remissionem peccatorum. Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloriam Dei* (Rom. 3.23)

<sup>1</sup>) In psalm. 137,6 (PL 37,1776-1777).

<sup>2</sup>) In psalm. 18 enarr. 1,2 (PL 36,154).

...Ille autem non propter nostram iustitiam, sed propter suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis (Tit. 3.15). Haec est, inquam, gloria Dei, non tua: nihil enim boni fecisti, et tamen tantum bonum accepisti<sup>1)</sup>. Here again St. Augustine stresses the absolute gratuitousness of the justification, which was jeopardized by the Pelagians. Finally the heavens stand for all the faithful who carry the *gloria Dei* within them: *Enarrarunt, enarrant, enarrabunt coeli gloriam dei: enarrabunt, inquam, coeli, hoc est sancti, gloriam dei, a terra suspensi. Deum portantes, praeceptis tonantes, sapientia coruscantes; illam, ut dixi, gloriam dei, qua salvi facti sumus indigni. ... Hanc gloriam dei coeli enarrant et opera manuum eius annuntiat firmamentum, firmum cor, non timidum cor. Annuntiata enim sunt ista inter impios, inter adversos Deo, inter amatores mundi persecutoresque iustorum: inter saevientem mundum annuntiata sunt ista. ... Quae sunt opera manuum eius? Gloria dei illa, qua salvi facti sumus, qua creati in bonis operibus sumus*<sup>2)</sup>. Therefore both the authorities in the Church and the faithful continue the glorification of Christ. St. Augustine includes the whole Church in this respect, when he considers her as the *sponsa Christi*: as the woman is the *gloria* of man, so the Church is the *gloria Christi*. This beauty is an internal beauty, as St. Augustine states repeatedly, and until the second coming of Christ, is not *sine macula et ruga*<sup>3)</sup>.

This is the inner aspect of Christ's glorification, but this *clarificatio* assumes also an external aspect after the Edict of Toleration. The resurrection was witnessed by no one and the ascension only by a few. As long as the Christians were only a minority and were persecuted, Christ's power remained hidden and His greatness invisible. But in the fourth century His greatness, which had continued to operate in the souls of men, manifested itself suddenly when paganism yielded, and crowds entered the Church and suddenly a Christian world appeared. This was the external aspect of Christ's *clarificatio*: *Fratres, exaltatum Deum super coelos, non videmus, sed credimus: super omnem autem terram gloriam eius*

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1) In psalm. 18 enarr. 2,2 (PL 36,157).

2) In psalm. 18 enarr. 2,3 (PL 36,159).

3) Cf. c. Parm. 3,2,10 (CSEL 51, p. 111,15); bapt. 3,18,23 (CSEL 51, p. 215,11); perf. iust. 35 (CSEL 42, p. 35,24 and 36,1-3); in psalm. 147,23 (PL 37,1932); in psalm. 17,17 (PL 36,150); serm. 262,6,5 (PL 38,1209); serm. Lambot, RB 51 (1939), p. 27,85-89; serm. M. Denis 12; serm. M. Morin 4.

*non tantum credimus, sed etiam videmus*<sup>1)</sup>. — *Accedite ad eum, qui ante oculos vestros glorificatur*<sup>2)</sup>. This sudden outburst of the Church, this unexpected manifestation of Christ's glory was so conspicuous and miraculous that no one could any longer doubt Christ's power and greatness: *Quem non movere deberet ut crederet, repente illuxisse divinam humano generi claritatem, quando videmus relictis diis falsis, et eorum confractis usquequaque simulacris, templis subversis... unum verum deum ab omnibus invocari?*<sup>3)</sup>. This glorification was bound to come, for the Father had so ordained; therefore this *gloria* revealed itself, *quam accepit a Patre in latitudine regni sui*<sup>4)</sup>. No enemy could prevent it, no one could impair His greatness or His influence: *Quid autem fecerunt, quid nocuerunt resurrecturo et super coelos ascensuro et omnem orbem terrarum gloria sui nominis possessuro?*<sup>5)</sup>.

In this Christ's glorification which began with His resurrection, reached its fullest perfection on earth; only His second coming on the clouds of heaven can add to it. But in so far as His glory could manifest itself outwardly on this earth, it was accomplished in St. Augustine's time, the *clarificatio Christi* had reached its preliminary fulfilment. Hence it is that St. Augustine often mentions as of equal value the resurrection, the ascension and the expansion of the Church throughout the world: '*Magnificavit Dominus Sanctum suum*'. *Iam et Christus venit, iam magnificatus est, iam resurrexit et ascendit in coelum, iam nomen eius per totum mundum praedicatur*<sup>6)</sup>. — *Resurrexit Christus, glorificatus est Christus. Vident modo in nomine eius converti genus humanum*<sup>7)</sup>. Sometimes St. Augustine describes this world-wide glory of Christ more in detail, and explains how the *gloria Christi* comes to the fore in the actual relations of his time. He then mentions the miraculous deeds of God among all nations, the wide-spread Christian faith, the suppression of human pride, and the peace and tranquillity necessary to deepen one's knowledge of God and His divine grace: *Facta sunt miracula in gentibus, impletur fides gentium, ardent arma praesumptionis humanae: vacatur in tranquillitate cordis, ut*

1) *In psalm.* 56,13 (PL 36,669).

2) *Adv. Iud.* 9,14 (PL 40,63).

3) *Fid. invis.* 7,10 (PL 40,179).

4) *C. Petul.* 2,84,187 (CSEL 52, p. 117,7). Cf. *supra* p. 113.

5) *C. Faust.* 12,43 (CSEL 25,1, p. 371,17).

6) *Serm.* 72,6,7 (PL 38,469); *serm. M. Denis* 24,1.

7) *In psalm.* 40,13 (PL 36,462).



cognoscatur auctor Deus omnium munerum suorum. Et post istam clarificationem...<sup>1)</sup>).

But the *clarificatio Christi* is not yet complete, there is still much that detracts from Christ's greatness in this world and prevents His glory from manifesting itself outwardly. There are still heathens, people who in secret deride the Church and try to uphold pagan practices, and all this in spite of Christ's glorification in heaven and on earth: *Nunc ergo iam Christo in coelo sedente, iam glorificato, iam subiectis cervicibus regum iugo eius, et suppositis eorum frontibus signo eius; iam nullo remanente, qui palam christianis audeat insultare, adhuc tamen inter organa et symphonicos gemimus*<sup>2)</sup>. It is not only the pagans who detract from Christ's greatness, the heretics also restrict His glory by denying its world-wide, its catholic, character<sup>3)</sup>. Even the catholic Church is not *sine macula aut ruga*<sup>4)</sup>. It is true that she embraces the great masses of the nations, but not all are truly converted, many are not called. Too many have entered, *super numerum*, there is much chaff among the wheat: *Sunt et super numerum. Nam etsi modo pauci sunt, pauci in comparatione multitudinis maiorum frequentiarum: quantis turbis implentur ecclesiae, stipantur parietes, pressuris se urgent, prope se suffocant multitudine. Rursus ab eis ipsis, si munus est, curritur ad amphitheatrum: isti super numerum sunt. ... Quanti fideles agglomerantur, quantae turbae concurrunt, multi vere conversi, multi falso conversi; et pauciores sunt vere conversi, plures falso conversi; quia multiplicati sunt super numerum*<sup>5)</sup>. This blemish on the *gloria Christi* disquiets him, especially since it stands out sharply against the unity of all nations in Christ. He queries what attitude the Christians should adopt towards it: *Quid ergo facimus de tam multis malis, qui tanto amplius ubique permixti sunt, quanto excellentior est Christi gloria in unitate gentium?* And his reply is that they have to accept it and suffer it as long as this earth continues<sup>6)</sup>. At the end of time, however, Christ will remove this last hindrance to the diffusion of His glory.

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1) In *psalm.* 45,15 (PL 36,524).

2) In *psalm.* 69,2 (PL 36,866).

3) Cf. *c. Petil.* 3,6,7 (CSEL 52, p. 169,11); 2,84,187 (CSEL 52, p. 116,28-117,7).

4) Cf. *c. Parm.* 3,2,10 (CSEL 51, p. 111,15 ff): (*Ecclesia*) ... *ad illam gloriam quae hic non est, perfectionemque ducitur.*

5) In *psalm.* 39,10 (PL 36,440-441).

6) *C. Faust.* 13,16 (CSEL 25,1, p. 397,9).

Then the wicked will be removed, as Judas was removed from the company of Christ and the Apostles: *separato inde nequissimo, et secum remanentibus sanctis, significata est glorificatio eius, quando separatis iniquis manebit in aeternitate cum sanctis*<sup>1)</sup>. — *Duae sunt istae, quae commendantur, glorificationes iam factae. Restat una et ipsa in conspectu hominum, cum se iudicio praesentabit*<sup>2)</sup>. Then no one will any longer be able to deny the *claritas Christi*, all will have to recognize God: *Veniet tempus, quando unus agnoscatur Deus; veniet tempus, quando Christus in claritate sua apparens congreget ante se omnes gentes, et dividat eas*<sup>3)</sup>. He will appear in a brilliant light visible to every one: *in secundo adventu veniens iudicare vivos et mortuos, in manifesto splendore claritatis suae, iustis suis lumen, et terrorem impiis coruscabit*<sup>4)</sup>. Then He will judge all men, He will take the good with Him and cast away the sinners<sup>5)</sup>. Thus He will show His power, His majesty and His glory to all; it is His coming *in claritate* in contrast to His coming *in humilitate*; it is the coming of Christ at which His glory will completely break through His *humilitas* and efface the last traces of His earthly humiliation: *non est venturus nisi in ultimo saeculo ad iudicandos vivos et mortuos: venturus autem in claritate, non in infirmitate; daturus regnum, non quaesiturus hospitium*<sup>6)</sup>.

Reviewing St. Augustine's theory we must admit that though he is in full agreement with the biblical conception he makes use of various later elements of Christian tradition, and combines all these in a very personal view. This view is determined by the antithesis he makes between *humilitas* and *claritas*. Those concepts do not primarily denote the abstract essence of man or God; nor does *claritas* primarily indicate God's splendour, nor *humilitas* stand for the humiliation of the cross. *Humilitas* and *claritas* are opposed to each other, they stand in the same relation to each other as the pitiable, sinful existence of man to the powerful, glorious existence of God. *Humilitas* stands for the painful existence of man, his fears, his impotence and his vulnerability.

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1) *In Evang. Iob.* 63,13,2-3 (PL 35,1805).

2) *Serm.* 265,7,8 (PL 38,1222).

3) *In psalm.* 124,8 (PL 37,1654).

4) *In psalm.* 7,13 (PL 36,105).

5) *In Psalm.* 67,3 (PL 36,814).

6) *Serm.* 239,6,7 (PL 38,1130).

It is this humanity which Christ took upon Him from His birth to His death on the cross, the misery and nakedness of which He bore to the utmost limit. *Claritas* stands for every thing in the divine existence that is opposed to this human wretchedness, Christ's power and majesty, His beauty and splendour, His inviolability and His irresistible influence on the world, the unimaginable splendour which God possesses from eternity. But *claritas* stands especially for this eternal splendour in so far as it had entered the flesh at the incarnation of the Word and there manifested itself to the world: primarily in the person and the work of Christ, secondarily in the faith of His followers and the expansion of the Church, and finally in the complete removal of all hindrances to His glory at His second coming.

Hence *humilitas* and *claritas* are no simple concepts, on the contrary, they indicate a very complex whole. We shall now deal with their various aspects in detail, especially in so far as these are expressed in the terms used. They are the idea of renown associated especially with *gloria* and *glorificare*, the light-element implied in *claritas* and *clarificare*, and the idea of power apparent in *maiestas* and to some extent in *magnificentia*. As we have already mentioned, St. Augustine's choice of words is often influenced by his particular liking for rhyme, e.g. *claritatem - humilitatem*. However, there is a certain differentiation of meaning in those terms, and the terms used throw some light on the underlying concepts.

The *gloria Christi* in the sense of renown of Christ has been discussed in the previous chapter. It is significant that this idea nearly always runs parallel to that of *clarificatio*. The *humilitas* of Christ is contrasted with His *claritas*; similarly the *ignominia crucis* is opposed to the *gloria* and the *victoria* of Christ<sup>1</sup>). By His cross and His resurrection Christ not only attains to the glorification of His humanity; He also gains a victory over death and the devil and so acquires the renown attached to it. The ascension is for Christ a rehabilitation and at the same time a triumphal entry into the Kingdom of His Father, Who crowns Him with *gloria et honor*. As often as His power and glory are manifested in the justification of men, Christ gains a triumph over sin and the pagan

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1) *C. Iul. op imperf.* 5,63 (PL 45,1502).

world which tries to intimidate the faithful. Because of the universal expansion of the Church, the activity of Christ's glory in the world acquires a universal character; He Himself becomes, in fact, universally known, renowned and honoured. At the Last Judgement He will appear in the full revelation of His glory, and as a conqueror who defeats his adversaries in a final victory. For St. Augustine the *Rex gloriae* is the Christ Who is invested with divine splendour, in which He makes His followers share, and the *Imperator* who proceeds victoriously through the history of His Church and makes His name known all over the world. Although St. Augustine often uses *gloria* in a purely biblical sense, he often states explicitly that *gloria* in the sense of the Johannine *δόξα* and *δοξάζειν* has the meaning of renown; he even wants to interpret *claritas* and *clarificare* in that sense<sup>1)</sup>. Similarly he interprets *gloria* in several psalm-texts as *fama* and *notitia*, to which Christ attained in the fourth century<sup>2)</sup>. Hence renown is a very important, though not exclusive, aspect of *gloria* in the mind of St. Augustine. For St. Augustine *gloria* has a wider meaning: the splendour and greatness of God, in which His renown is implied. Renown is that aspect of Christ's greatness which is primarily denoted by the word *gloria*. This aspect often goes unnoticed, but receives special emphasis where relevant. Renown is especially attached to the idea that Christ gained a victory over Satan and the world by Himself and His followers, and that He became universally known in the Church of the fourth century. Sometimes those two ideas combine to form that of a world-wide kingdom of which Christ is the King: *gloria regis in latitudine regni*<sup>3)</sup>. In this text all the elements of *gloria* can be traced: the victory of a king, the universality of his renown, and the splendour and majesty of a ruler (a meaning indicated by *δόξα* in the Bible).

The second element comprised in the *gloria Christi* is His splendour, which is the primary meaning of *claritas*. This element is especially prominent when reference is made to the splendour which the Word possessed from eternity, or to the blinding light in which Christ rose from the dead or to the radiant splendour in which Christ will come on the clouds at the end of time.

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1) *In evang. Ioh.* 100,16,1 (PL 35,1891).

2) *In evang. Ioh.* 106,17,1 (PL 35,1908).

3) *C. Petil.* 2,84,187 (CSEL 52, p. 116,28-117,8).

Moreover, in a metaphorical sense Christ is often called the light to indicate His activity in the souls of men. As in St. Ambrose this light-symbolism found in St. Augustine its expression in the image of Christ as the Sun. Under this metaphor St. Augustine expresses the different phases of Christ's *clarificatio* from His birth to His second coming.

This light-symbolism is mainly found in his Christmas sermons. Christ is the eternal light which enters the darkness of this world. For this entrance into the world He chose the day on which the light begins to increase and the darkness gives way to the light. *Dies ergo ille, Verbum Dei, dies qui lucet angelis, dies qui lucet in illa unde peregrinamur patria, vestivit se carne, natusque est de Maria virgine*<sup>1</sup>). — *Et quoniam ipsa infidelitas quae totum mundum vice noctis obtexerat, minuenda fuerat fide crescente; ideo die Natali Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et nox incipit perpeti detrimenta, et dies sumere augmenta. Habeamus ergo, fratres, solemnem istum diem: non sicut infideles propter hunc solem, sed propter eum qui fecit hunc solem*<sup>2</sup>). Here St. Augustine refers to Christ as the light, mentions the solstice and contrasts Christ with *hunc solem*. But nowhere in his Christmas sermons he calls Christ the Sun, which he does in some sermons on the passion and the resurrection of Christ and on several other occasions. It would seem that in St. Augustine's days there was a fairly large number of sun-worshippers, as he repeatedly warns against them<sup>3</sup>). This may be the reason why in his Christmas sermons St. Augustine never refers to Christ as *Sol*, and so seeks to avoid any misunderstanding. He calls Christ the light and the *dies*. Especially the latter appellation is a favourite one in his Christmas sermons, because it is suitable for word-play. St. Augustine likes to use *dies* in the sense of Christmas-day beside *dies* in the meaning of Christ Himself: *Sanctificavit nobis, fratres, istum diem, dies qui fecit omnem diem*<sup>4</sup>). Sometimes he also speaks of the *aeternus dies* that made his entry into time: *magnus et aeternus dies ex magno et aeterno die venit in hunc nostrum tam brevem temporalem diem*<sup>5</sup>). *Dies* also indicates Christ in the sense of light: *agnoscimus lumen de lumine*,

1) *Serm.* 189,2,2 (PL 38,1005).

2) *Serm.* 190,1,1 (PL 38,1007).

3) *Serm.* 186,1,1 (PL 38,999); 187,1,1 (PL 38,1001); 190,1,1 (PL 38,1007); cf. *in evang. Ioh.* 34,7,2 (PL 35,1652).

4) *Serm.* 189,1,1 (PL 38,1005).

5) *Serm.* 185,2,2 (PL 38,998).

*diem ex die. Ipse est dies, qui fecit diem: a die non factus, sed genitus est; quis est dies quem fecit Dominus? Quare dies? Quia lux est*<sup>1)</sup>. — *Vocavit enim Deus lucem diem*<sup>2)</sup>. — *Quid est dies, nisi lumen? Non oculorum carnalium, non lumen commune cum pecoribus; sed lumen quod angelis lucet, lumen cui videndo corda purgantur*<sup>3)</sup>. So with the birth of Christ the mystery of light began: *Nam et dies nativitatis eius habet mysterium lucis eius*<sup>4)</sup>.

Christ's death is the setting of the sun, the victory of darkness, against which Christ warns us. Commenting on the text *sol agnovit occasum suum* St. Augustine says: *Merito Dominus venturus ad occasum suum, ait discipulis, tamquam tenebris futuris, circuituro leone, ut quaereret quem devoraret, nisi peteret*<sup>5)</sup>. But the victory of darkness did not last long. For when Christ rose from the grave, the sun rose again for all who looked up to Him and believed in Him. The powers of darkness, the *catuli leonum*, withdrew to their hiding-places: *'Ortus est sol', quia occidit sol, sed non extinctus est sol. Adhuc eis qui non intelligunt Christum, ipsa nox est; adhuc eis sol ortus non est; instent ut intelligant, ne rapiantur a rugiente leone*<sup>6)</sup>. So there are people for whom the sun has not yet risen, and people who have walked in the light of the sun, but for whom the sun has set again because of their sins. Therefore St. Augustine warns: *'Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram'; est noster sol justitiae veritas Christus: non iste sol qui adoratur a paganis et Manichaeis, et videtur etiam a peccatoribus; sed ille alius cujus veritate humana natura illustratur, ad quem gaudent angeli, hominum autem infirmatae acies cordis etsi trepidant sub radiis ejus, ad eum tamen contemplandum per mandata purgantur. Cum coeperit iste sol in homine habitare per fidem, non tantum in te valeat iracundia quae in te nascitur, ut occidat super iracundiam tuam, id est, deserat Christus mentem tuam*<sup>7)</sup>. Thus Christus Sol shines upon the world since His resurrection and enlightens the faithful, and especially the Church is represented by St. Augustine as the moon: *luna intelligitur Ecclesia, quod suum lumen non habeat, sed ab unigenito Dei Filio, qui multis locis in sanctis*

1) *Serm.* 226 (PL 38,1099).

2) *Serm.* 225,4,4 (PL 38,1098).

3) *Serm.* 189,1,1 (PL 38,1005).

4) *Serm.* 190,1,1 (PL 38,1007).

5) *In psalm.* 103,22 (PL 37,1376).

6) *In psalm.* 103,23 (PL 37,1376).

7) *In psalm.* 25 *enarr.* 2,3 (PL 36,189); cf. *in evang. Iob.* 34,7,2 (PL 35,1652).

*Scripturis allegorice sol appellatus est, illustratus*<sup>1)</sup>. — ... *crescens et abundans, donec luna extollatur, id est, elevetur Ecclesia, per gloriam resurrectionis cum illo regnatura, qui eam in hac gloria primogenitus antecessit, ut sederet ad dexteram Patris; ita cum sole permanens ante lunam, quo postea extolleretur et luna*<sup>2)</sup>. And so the Church shares already in the light and the *gloria resurrectionis* of Christ, though not completely. The light of Christ increases in this world, the sun shines brighter and brighter: *Magis magisque ubi oritur sol iste, ut intelligatur ab orbe terrarum, et clarificetur Christus in toto mundo, congregantur catuli leonum; illa daemonia recedunt a persecutione Ecclesiae, quae instigabant persequi domum Dei, operando in filiis diffidentiae*. In St. Augustine's time the Light has spread all over the world, the sun has risen so high that no part of the earth is excluded from its light: the *clarificatio* of Christ has become universal. *Iam ortus est sol, et splendet in toto orbe terrarum*<sup>3)</sup>. — *Ortus es, splenduisti, clarificatus es, cum in coelum ascendisti, et repleta est terra creatura tua*<sup>4)</sup>.

But the complete *clarificatio* will only come at the end of time; it is still winter, the sun has not yet reached its full strength. When however the *gloria Christi* appears, the summer will begin, and the weed that has no firm roots will dry up, but the deep-rooted trees will grow into full glory: *Modo ergo tempus est hiemis, gloria tua nondum apparet: sed si alta radix est charitatis tuae, sicut multarum arborum per hiemem, transit frigus, veniet aestas, id est iudicii dies: tunc arescet viror foeni, tunc apparebit arborum gloria*<sup>5)</sup>.

The third element in the *gloria Christi*, which deserves our attention, is His power, designated especially by the word *maiestas*. The *maiestas Verbi* exists from all eternity, it has created all that exists<sup>6)</sup>. As at the incarnation the light entered into darkness, so at the same time the omnipotence hid itself in the weakness of the flesh: *Sed Verbum caro factum est, ut habitaret in nobis; latens maiestas, apparens infirmitas, ut moriatur infirmitas, et teneatur*

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1) In psalm. 10,2 (PL 36,131).

2) In psalm. 71,10 (PL 36,908).

3) In psalm. 103,23 (PL 37,1376).

4) In psalm. 103,26 (PL 37,1378).

5) In psalm. 36 serm. 1,3 (PL 36,358).

6) Serm. 88,16,16 (PL 38,547); cf. serm. 190,1,1 (PL 38,1007).

*maiestas*<sup>1)</sup>. — *Infirma est Christi ex matre nativitas: sed ex patre ampla maiestas*<sup>2)</sup>. From the moment of His birth His *maiestas* began His workings in the world, especially by His signs and wonders from the miracle of Cana<sup>3)</sup> to the raising of Lazarus<sup>4)</sup>. Thus His power manifested itself in His personal life, but also in the life of the Church He showed His power by destroying the *reges terrae: Hos reges conquassavit gloria sua, et pondere nominis sui infirmos reddidit reges, ut non possent efficere quod volebant. Conati sunt enim multum delere nomen Christianum de terra, et non potuerunt*<sup>5)</sup>. However His power will only be revealed fully at the Last Judgement, when as *iudex vivorum et mortuorum* He will destroy His adversaries in the presence of all mankind.

Renown, light and power are the most important elements in the *gloria Christi*. The words *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas* usually indicate the fulness of His splendour, under the aspect of renown, light and power respectively. Nevertheless there are several instances where *gloria* indicates Christ's splendour under the aspect of light<sup>6)</sup>, and sometimes even under the aspect of power<sup>7)</sup>. *Claritas* occasionally denotes renown and *maiestas* includes the idea of light in some instances. This however may be explained by the fact that the fulness of Christ's splendour thus designated comprises all those elements, so that those words spontaneously acquire a complex content. This complex whole gives us the fascinating picture of Christ as St. Augustine conceived it, in which His power, His brilliant splendour, His renown and His beauty coalesce. It is the picture of Our Lord as he paints it in the following words: *Ne formam servi spernas, ne potentis infirmitatem excelsique humilitatem derideas, 'ipse est Deus tuus'. In eo quod parvus apparet, magnus latet; in umbra mortis sol justitiae, in contumelia crucis Dominus gloriae. Quamvis eum persecutores necent, infideles negent, 'ipse est Dominus Deus tuus': per cuius corpus immutantur, quae antea per umbras figurabantur*<sup>8)</sup>.

1) *Serm.* 28,2,2 (PL 38,179).

2) *Serm.* 190,3,3 (PL 38,1008).

3) *Fid. et symb.* 4,9 (CSEL 41, p. 12,22).

4) *Serm.* 98,6,6 (PL 38,594).

5) *In psalm.* 109,18 (PL 37,1461).

6) E.g. *in psalm.* 64,6 (PL 36,778); cf. *splendor gloriae* passim.

7) Cf. *c. Petil.* 2,46,108 (CSEL 51, p. 83,1): *opus suum probet, ut in se ipso habeat gloriam.*

8) *Adv. Iud.* 4,5 (PL 42,54).



In his christological writings and in his doctrinal works on the Trinity St. Augustine also uses *gloria* and *maiestas* in their abstract sense of divinity or divine nature. In *De Trinitate* St. Augustine uses *secundum id quod Deus est* beside *secundum hoc utique quod Dominus gloriae est*<sup>1)</sup>. Here St. Augustine clearly abstracts from the conception he has of Christ and His splendour, for here *Dominus gloriae* is equivalent to *Deus*. He expresses the same idea in *Secundum formam dei Dominus est gloriae*<sup>2)</sup>. In *Contra Faustum* he speaks of the *divinitas maiestatis suae*<sup>3)</sup>. He is of the opinion that some demons, who present themselves as gods, are guilty of *fastu simulatae maiestatis*<sup>4)</sup>. In his sermons *gloria* and *maiestas* usually have a fuller content; the great controversy against Arianism is finished and it was no longer necessary for St. Augustine to combat those heretical views. Occasionally, however, he discusses the divinity of Christ in a more scientific and theological manner, e.g. speaking of Christ he says: *commendavit maiestatem suam: 'Ego et Pater unum sumus' (Ioh. 10.30)*<sup>5)</sup>. But since the theological disputes about the divinity of Christ no longer interested the Christians, we observe that *gloria* and *maiestas* in their strictly theological sense (viz. divine nature) disappeared from the common language of the Christians and passed into the technical language of theology whence it had come.

### 3. *Gloria hominis.*

St. Augustine had a sufficiently clear grasp of the mind of St. Paul and understood him in the sense that by his justification man participates in the *gloria Dei* already during his life on earth. He is aware that this participation is but a partial one and will develop into a secure and lasting participation in God's splendour in the life to come.

St. Augustine generally discusses this earthly participation of man in God's glory with reference to texts from St. Paul. His point of departure is man's sinfulness: this demonstrates at the same time the gratuitousness of God's calling: *ut iustificentur, praecedit vocatio, quae non est meritum, sed gratiae Dei: 'omnes*

1) *Trin.* 1,13,28 (PL 42,840).

2) *Trin.* 1,12,24 (PL 42,837).

3) *C. Faust.* 14,7 (CSEL 25,1, p. 408,11).

4) *C. Faust.* 20,22 (CSEL 25,1, p. 565,17).

5) *In psalm.* 62,11 (PL 36,754).

*enim peccaverunt, et egent gloriam Dei* (Rom. 3.23)<sup>1</sup>). As we are sinful and unable to do anything of ourselves, we are dependent upon God. He is it Who calls us to His kingdom and His glory: *Praestabit ille qui vos vocavit ad suum regnum et gloriam, ut eius gratia regeneratis vobis etiam Spiritu sancto scribitur in cordibus vestris*<sup>2</sup>). But God does not only call us, He moreover justifies us; this justification carries with it a special sanctification and an in-dwelling of God in man: *Omnes enim peccaverunt, et egent gloriam Dei. In quibus ergo sic habitat Deus, ut et de bonis suis ipse glorificetur*<sup>3</sup>). Men are like vessels made by God. He made them all for a definite purpose, and some are destined to be dwelling-places for His glory: *Species enim domus et locus tabernaculi claritatis dei in vasis est, ut dixi non omnibus, quae tamen in una domo magna sunt, sed in his quae sunt in honore sanctificata, utilia domino, ad omne opus bonum semper parata*<sup>4</sup>). The justified, who are sanctified by the in-dwelling of God's glory, are themselves also transformed internally and actually share in the *gloria*; already on earth they have within them the seed of eternal glory, the transition to heavenly glory is for them the completion of a process which began with their justification; their life and death is a progression from *gloria* to *gloria* (II Cor. 3.18). In one instance St. Augustine interprets St. Paul's text *de gloria in gloriam* in the sense of *de gloria creationis in gloriam justificationis*<sup>5</sup>). But he usually understands it as *de gloria fidei in gloriam speciei*<sup>6</sup>). This *gloria fidei* he sometimes describes more accurately as a *gloria* which enlightens us through faith in the words of the Gospel, and as the glory consisting in being children of God and partners in His glory: *de gloria scilicet Evangelii, quo nunc credentes illuminantur, in gloriam ipsius incommutabilis et manifestae veritatis, qua tunc commutati perfruentur; ita ex fide verborum quibus nunc credimus quod nondum videmus, in fidem rerum qua in aeternum quod nunc credimus, obtinebimus*<sup>7</sup>). — *De gloria qua filii dei sumus, in gloriam qua similes ei erimus, quoniam videbimus*

1) In psalm. 5,17 (PL 36,89).

2) Serm. 212,2 (PL 38,1060).

3) In psalm. 25 enarr. 2,12 (PL 36,194); cf. 5,17 (PL 36,89): *haec est benedictio, gloriari in Deo, et inhabitari a Deo. Ista sanctificatio conceditur iustis; sed ut iustificentur, praecedit vocatio, quae non est meritum, sed gratiae Dei.*

4) C. Parm. 3,5,25 (CSEL 51, p. 132,15-19); cf. psalm. 25,7.

5) Trin. 15,8,14 (PL 42,1068).

6) Serm. M. Mai 94,7.

7) Quaest. evang. 2,39 (PL 35,1352).

*eum sicuti est*<sup>1)</sup>. — *De gloria in gloriam . . . : hoc est quod fit de die in diem proficientibus*<sup>2)</sup>. However, on earth this *gloria* of man is hidden from us: *modo gloria eius occulta est; cum venerit Dominus, tunc apparebit in gloria*<sup>3)</sup>. More often St. Augustine does not mention the earthly glory of man, but he declares very emphatically that the real glory only begins in heaven<sup>4)</sup>, and that on earth man will always be weak, a vessel which can only serve God's greatness, if God takes His abode in it.

The real glorification of man begins with the Last Judgement, when all will rise again with their bodies: *alia est animarum sine ullis corporibus requies, alia cum corporibus coelestibus claritas et felicitas Angelorum, quibus aequabitur resurgentium multitudo fidelium*<sup>5)</sup>. Before the faithful are admitted to this glory, they are first enlightened and see their conduct of life in a clear light; this enlightenment St. Augustine indicates by the term *clarificatio*, which is not used here in its technical sense: *illa clarificatio, ubi illuminabuntur occulta tenebrarum, et manifestabuntur cogitationes cordis, et laus erit unicuique a te*<sup>6)</sup>.

St. Augustine's idea of the *vita aeterna* is very comprehensive; its content is beyond words, it includes peace, joy, immortality and sinlessness<sup>7)</sup>. Its most essential elements are man's perfect relation to God, perfect love and the *visio Dei*. It is precisely this aspect of *gloria* and *claritas* which indicates the bliss of heaven. As appears from the texts, *gloria* and *claritas*, applied to man's eternal happiness, always indicate primarily the splendour and beauty of the divine Essence, which God will reveal to man and by which He will transform him into a spiritualized being: *claritatem suam nobis dabit Deus, qua fruamur: unde tolletur impius, ne videat claritatem Dei*<sup>8)</sup>. To contemplate God is to be transformed by Him, spiritually and physically. All human weakness will be superseded by power and strength which will find a physical

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1) *Trin.* 15,8,14 (PL 42,1068).

2) *Trin.* 14,17,23 (PL 42,1055).

3) *In epist. Ioh.* 5,3,10 (PL 35,2017).

4) *In psalm.* 150,3 (PL 37,1963): *iustificati, sanamur per misericordiam ne iudicium timeamus: glorificati, transimus in vitam aeternam, ubi Deum sine fine laudamus. Poenitentia cruciat, iustitia tranquillat, vita aeterna glorificat.*

5) *Serm.* 280,5,5, (PL 38,1283).

6) *In psalm.* 87,13 (PL 37,1118).

7) *COUVÉE* 155.

8) *Serm.* 255,6,6 (PL 38,1189); cf. *in psalm.* 2,5 (PL 36,70); *serm.* 127, 9,13 (PL 38,712).

expression in *sanitas, concordia*<sup>1)</sup> and in a radiant light: *Tunc vero, etiam corporum gloriosissima commutatione, ipse dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi suae*<sup>2)</sup>. — *Iusti fulgebunt in regno Patris sui tamquam sol* (Matth. 13.43)<sup>3)</sup>.

This conception of St. Augustine of the *gloria caelestis* is well conceived philosophically and theologically, and yet it has a completely biblical basis. His emphasis on the element of love beside the intellectual contemplation, and the fact that he attaches no importance to light-mysticism, show that he was more independent of Neoplatonic influences than St. Ambrose. Yet he is not entirely free from Neoplatonic influence, which has been proved by COURCELLE and HENRY. And in this connexion we naturally think of the question of the 'Vision at Ostia'.

It is significant that nowhere in the passage dealing with the death of St. Monica we find *gloria* used to indicate heaven. Instead we have the expressions *vita aeterna, regio ubertatis indeficientis, gaudium Domini, aeterna Hierusalem* and the like, but not the usual Christian designations of *gloria aeterna* or *claritas futura*<sup>4)</sup>. This already shows the special character of this passage. Moreover, MANDOUZE has pointed out that here St. Augustine maintains his complete independence with regard to Plotinos as well as other sources. And this is especially true of the light-symbolism. MANDOUZE calls attention to the fact that in the Vision at Ostia only once or twice reference is made to light. In connexion with *Conf.* 10,15,23 he remarks: 'Augustin n'a pas cru bon d'introduire ici la notion de lumière que pouvait lui suggérer la suite du même verset: *'et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen'*. N'est-ce pas ici un indice d'une certaine libération par rapport à Plotin et qui témoigne d'une singulière autonomie jusque dans le vocabulaire même?'<sup>5)</sup>. And referring to *Conf.* 10,16,24 he says: 'La chose est d'autant plus remarquable que, à part ce passage et un allusion à la lumière matérielle des astres (24,8), il n'y a dans l'extase d'Ostie, aucune référence à la lumière et encore aucun de ces deux passages ne désigne-t-il directement la lumière spirituelle'<sup>6)</sup>. This shows sufficiently that St. Augustine was not strongly influenced by

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1) *Serm.* 277,4,4 (PL 38,1259).

2) *In psalm.* 67,43 (PL 36,840).

3) *In Psalm.* 61,13 (PL 36,739).

4) *Conf.* 9,10,23-26.

5) A. MANDOUZE, *L'Extase d'Ostie*, Augustinus Magister, I Comm., p. 70, n. 1.

6) MANDOUZE, *L'Extase*, Aug. Mag., I, p. 70, n. 2.

Neoplatonic light-mysticism. The biblical designation for heavenly light is also wanting, the *gloria*-concept does not occur. This can hardly surprise us, for if we wish to ascertain what St. Augustine's ideas were about the life hereafter, we can scarcely expect to find them in such literary, lyrical and almost mystical passage as the Vision at Ostia. To know what idea St. Augustine had of the life hereafter we have to go to sermons. The Vision at Ostia has a literary character of its own. Its tenor is not supported by what St. Augustine teaches in his sermons about the bliss of heaven. It is a literary expression of a very personal experience at a certain moment. So it is of little value for our study.

Apart therefore from the Vision at Ostia we may state the following: in the *gloria caelestis* the element of light is very prominent, both in his conception of the *visio Dei* and in his idea of the *resurrectio carnis*. Furthermore, we find in St. Augustine, as in St. Ambrose, the elements of *refrigerium*, *vita beata*, *virtus* and also of renown (*honor et gloria*). The last element has been discussed in the previous chapter.

#### 4. Résumé.

*Gloria* is a word in which the whole contemporary world of St. Augustine is comprised. It signifies profane renown, especially the fame of Rome and the Roman heroes. In this sense it has a certain appreciating meaning. For St. Augustine recognizes the greatness of Rome. On the other hand, he recognizes in *gloria* the great antithesis between Rome and the Church: Rome aims at self-glory, the *Civitas Dei* aims at the *gloria Dei*.

So the other extreme of *gloria* is the *gloria Dei*: the full splendour of the Father. Equal to this is the *gloria Christi*. In dogmatic-polemic writings or in passages of a dogmatic-polemic nature *gloria* sometimes stands only for *divinitas*, though it is mostly used in opposition to the human *humilitas*, the 'condition humaine'. The *gloria Christi* overflows this *humilitas* and manifests itself in His miracles, His death and resurrection, the activity of the Church and finally in the second coming on the clouds. On examining the various elements in the *gloria Christi* it would be found that Christ's power over sin and weakness, His renown and His victory over the world and Satan form the primary aspect of *gloria*, while the element of light is only a secondary one.

*Claritas* sometimes has a similar meaning; its suggestion of light

is more pronounced than in the other terms even where the notion of light is not conspicuous.

*Maiestas* conveys the same meaning with the emphasis upon God's transcendence and omnipotence.

*Gloria* is generally used to denote the glory of man. It indicates his participation in the divine glory and stresses its gratuitousness. In the eschatological *gloria* the element of light is more prominent, especially in the *resurrectio carnis* and the *visio Dei*. For St. Augustine this *gloria* also means renown in the eyes of God and in the eyes of other fellow-Christians. This idea is not additional to that of power or light, but is a primary signification of *gloria*, especially when it concerns living persons who have distinguished themselves as ascetics and martyrs.

Other notable words in St. Augustine are *glorificare* and *clarificare*. For the glorification of God by men he mostly uses *glorificare*: *glorificemus Deum*. For the glorification of Christ or of men by God he uses both *glorificare* and *clarificare*.

It is evident that the Bible is the most important of the sources used by St. Augustine. He is also familiar with the whole of the Western Christian tradition. In this connexion St. Ambrose must be specially mentioned. For the concept of *gloria* St. Augustine is much debted to St. Ambrose, especially for his ideas of the light of Christ, the eschatological glory and the *gloria martyrum*. Of the classical authors Vergil deserves special mention; he partly determined St. Augustine's ideas of profane and Christian renown. Other sources of influence are Plato and the Neoplatonists. In *Conf.* 7,9,13-14 St. Augustine says that in the platonic books he found much that is also taught by Christianity, even with regard to the light-symbolism, but that he did not find the whole truth in them: *et ideo legebam ibi etiam immutatam gloriam incorruptionis tuae in idola...<sup>1)</sup>*

With reference to the light-mysticism HENRY says: 'Une première idée commune au philosophe et à l'évêque est que Dieu est une lumière intellectuelle illuminant tous les êtres inférieurs, et, en particulier, le *νοῦς* des Ennéades, l'ange de la théologie chrétienne' <sup>2)</sup>). Nevertheless light-symbolism plays no important part with St. Augustine. He uses the metaphors of sun and light far less frequently than St. Ambrose. And his sporadic use of them

<sup>1)</sup> *Conf.* 7,9,15; cf. HENRY 103.

<sup>2)</sup> HENRY 130.

could be explained by Ambrosian influence. In this connexion the direct influence of Plotinos on St. Augustine should not be over-estimated; this is also the opinion of MANDOUZE and MOHRMANN<sup>1)</sup>.

Finally, it must be said that St. Augustine always adopts an independent attitude towards his sources and maintains his originality. He recognizes the absolute authority of the Bible and combines classical and Christian traditions in a way all his own.

## E. ST. LEO THE GREAT

St. Leo the Great's usage of words is largely determined by the Bible and the Liturgy. So the idea of *δόξα* occurs frequently in his works. It is expressed by the familiar words: *claritas*, *gloria* and *maiestas*. *Claritas* is comparatively rare, *gloria* and *maiestas* are the terms generally used.

Scriptural quotations in his sermons show that the influence of the Vulgate is already considerable: in St. Leo we find as renderings of *δόξα* mostly *gloria*, less often *maiestas* and seldom *claritas* and *clarificare* except in texts from St. John<sup>2)</sup>. His rendering of *δόξα* is the same as the Vulgate's, which we discussed before.

St. Leo often concludes his sermons with: *Qui (cum Patre et Spiritu sancto) vivit et regnat Deus in saecula saeculorum. Amen*<sup>3)</sup>. But the old doxology also is still frequently used. He always uses it in the indicative: *Cui est cum Patre et sancto Spiritu eadem potestas, una divinitas in saecula saeculorum. Amen*<sup>4)</sup>, or more often: *Cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen*<sup>5)</sup>. For this reason we may suppose that in the fifth century the doxology in the liturgy generally had an indicative meaning.

We have been able to establish a rather clear differentiation of meaning between *gloria*, *claritas* and *maiestas* in the forenamed authors, and the same may be said of St. Leo. *Claritas* indicates

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1) MANDOUZE, *L'Extase*, Aug. Mag., I, p. 69ff.; *Rapport de Mlle MOHRMANN*, Aug. Mag., III Actes, p. 35-36.

2) *Clarificare*, e.g. *serm.* 59,6 (PL 54,340 C), *Ioh.* 12,23; *serm.* 76,5 (PL 54, 407 A), *Ioh.* 16,14. *Glorificare*, e.g. *serm.* 56,5 (PL 54,325 B), I Cor. 6,20; *serm.* 33,5 (PL 54,244 A), *psalm.* 85,9; *serm.* 35,4 (PL 54,253 A), I Cor. 6,20.

3) Cf. the conclusion of *serm.* 37,39,40,41,46,50,51,57,58,59,61,62,64,66,67,68, 70,72,73,75,78,79,86,87,88,89,90,92,93,94,95 etc.

4) Cf. the conclusion of *serm.* 82,7 (PL 54,428 A); *serm.* 42,6 (PL 54,281 A), ... *una est deitas, una maiestas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

5) Cf. the conclusion of *serm.* 34,35,52,54,56,60,77,83.

especially the element of light in  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ . It is used of the brightness of the star which appeared to the three *magi*<sup>1)</sup>, the shining light which surrounded the angels at Bethlehem<sup>2)</sup>, and finally also of the glory of Christ. The *claritas Christi* is also associated by St. Leo with the *nova lux* of Christmas: *Sed hanc adorandam in coelo et in terra nativitatem nullus nobis dies magis quam hodiernus insinuat, et nova etiam in elementis luce radiante, coram sensibus nostris mirabilis sacramenti ingerit claritatem*<sup>3)</sup>. The difference between *clarificare* and *glorificare* is apparent from the following texts (*serm.* 51). *Glorificare* is used to denote the glorification of God by men and the glorification of Christ's human nature through union with the divinity: *in ipso humanam crederet glorificatam esse naturam*<sup>4)</sup>. *Clarificare* is the appropriate word for the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor: *Aperit ergo Dominus coram electis testibus gloriam suam, et communem illam cum caeteris corporis formam tanto splendore clarificat, ut et facies eius solis fulgori similis, et vestitus candore nivium esset aequalis*<sup>5)</sup>. St. Leo uses *claritas* and *clarificare* to indicate clearly Christ's corporeal splendour. This *claritas corporis* demonstrates the *potentia corporis*: *claritatem illis suae gloriae demonstravit: quia licet intellexissent in eo maiestatem Dei, ipsius tamen corporis, quo Divinitas tegebatur, potentiam nesciebant*<sup>6)</sup>. He clearly distinguishes the corporeal *claritas* from the *maiestas Dei*, as elsewhere he makes a clear distinction between *claritas* and *potentia*: *Immutabilis enim Deitas, quamvis intra semetipsam et claritatem suam et potentiam contineret, non ideo tamen non erat inserta nascenti, quia humano aspectui non patebat*<sup>7)</sup>. This *claritas* will be revealed especially at the second coming of Christ on the clouds. This will be the real beginning of His kingdom. Then He will appear in His *regia claritas*<sup>8)</sup>. Hence St. Leo also associates the external  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  of Christ with His kingship; ultimately *claritas* evokes a picture of a sovereign Christ in His imposing and radiant appearance.

1) *Serm.* 31,1 (PL 54,235 BC); 34,1 (PL 54,245 B); 37,2 (PL 54,257 C).

2) *Serm.* 35,1 (PL 54,250 A).

3) *Serm.* 26,1 (PL 54,212 C).

4) *Serm.* 51,2 (PL 54,309 C).

5) *Serm.* 51,3 (PL 54,310 C; cf. 51,6 (PL 54,312 A)).

6) *Serm.* 51,2 (PL 54,310 A).

7) *Serm.* 29,2 (PL 54,228 A).

8) *Serm.* 51,2 (PL 54,310 A): *Filium hominis venientem in regno suo (Matth. 16.28), id est in regia claritate, quam specialiter ad naturam suscepti hominis pertinentem, his tribus viris voluit esse conspicuam.*



*Claritas* therefore has clearly the meaning of light, external splendour and radiance; it is not a general term for light, for it has become a specifically religious, biblical and liturgical term. *Claritudo* is the word generally used to designate the lustre of profane persons or things<sup>1)</sup>.

*Gloria* has not the concrete character of *claritas*. It usually indicates the fulness of God's splendour, principally the divine Essence, the infinite Being, and also His power over all that exists, His triumphs over those that oppose Him and His awe-inspiring, radiant appearance. St. Leo in speaking of God often uses both *gloria* and *substantia* without distinction. He speaks of the *paterna gloria* and *gloria deitatis* of Christ. In the latter expression *deitatis* must be understood as explicative genitive. This is clear from a passage dealing with the pericope where St. Peter professes his faith in the divinity of Christ: *Petrus apostolus per revelationem summi Patris, corporea superans et humana transcendens, vidit mentis oculis Filium Dei vivi, et confessus est gloriam Deitatis, quia non ad solam respexit substantiam carnis et sanguinis*<sup>2)</sup>. Here *gloria* has a rather abstract sense, as in other cases where he uses *paterna gloria* in opposition to *natura nostra*<sup>3)</sup>. Usually the *gloria Christi* has a more concrete character in that it is used in opposition to *humilitas*. Unlike St. Augustine St. Leo does not elaborate this antithesis. He uses it especially in defending the divinity of Christ with reference to the incarnation and the *exinanitio*<sup>4)</sup>. He then places *humilitas* and *gloria* on a level with *infirmetas* and *potestas*, human impotence and divine omnipotence manifesting itself in miraculous works<sup>5)</sup>.

Renown and victory are also associated with *gloria*. St. Leo likes to contrast *gloria* and *contumelia*, and to contrast *humilitas* with *divinitas* or *maiestas*: *Contumelia transivit in gloriam*<sup>6)</sup>. — *Aliud est passibile, aliud inviolabile; et tamen eiusdem est contumelia, cuius et gloria*<sup>7)</sup>. — *Sed in omnibus* (i.e. Christ's deeds) *simul sunt et humilitas hominis et celsitudo Deitatis; nec misericordiae ratio*

1) E.g. *epist.* 105,2 (PL 54,999 C), on Constantinople.

2) *Serm.* 51,1 (PL 54,309 B); cf. 51,2 (PL 54,309 C).

3) *Serm.* 27,1 (PL 54,216 C).

4) *Epist.* 28,4 (PL 54,765 B and 767 B); *serm.* 72,6 (PL 54,393 C); etc.

5) *Serm.* 51,2 (PL 54,309 C); 23,5 (PL 54,203 B); 25,5 (PL 54,211 B); 46,1 (PL 54,292 C); 56,2 (PL 54,327 A); 63,1 (PL 54,353 A), *Gloria... Dominicae passionis... humilitatis maxime est miranda mysterio*.

6) *Serm.* 74 (PL 54,397 B).

7) *Serm.* 54,1 (PL 54,319 B).

*maiestatem miserantis obscurat, quia de ineffabili potentia factum est, ut dum homo verus est in Deo inviolabili, et Deus verus in carne passibili, conferretur homini gloria per contumeliam, incorruptio per supplicium, vita per mortem*<sup>1)</sup>. — *Aliud tamen est, unde in utroque communis est contumelia, aliud unde communis est gloria. De nostro enim illi est minor Patre humanitas; de Patre illi est aequalis cum Patre divinitas*<sup>2)</sup>. With reference to the exinanitio he says: *Sed multum nos ad intellectum iuvat, quod... in unam personam concurrat proprietas utriusque substantiae, ut sive in infirmitatibus, sive in virtutibus eiusdem sit contumelia, cuius et gloria*<sup>3)</sup>.

The notion of renown and victory is especially prominent when St. Leo speaks of the *Passio Domini: Gloria Dominicae passionis*<sup>4)</sup>. — *O admirabilis potentia crucis! o ineffabilis gloria Passionis! in qua et tribunal Domini, et iudicium mundi, et potestas est crucifixi*<sup>5)</sup>. St. Leo adapts this idea to the picture of the *Dominus virtutum et Rex gloriae*<sup>6)</sup>. Above we have already discussed this aspect of the *gloria Christi* in detail.

Light too remains part of the content of *gloria*. Yet this element is rarely emphatic. An example occurs in the sermon on the Transfiguration: *Aperit ergo Dominus coram electis testibus gloriam suam, et communem illam cum caeteris corporis formam tanto splendore clarificat, ut et facies eius solis fulgori similis, et vestitus candori nivium esset aequalis*<sup>7)</sup>. Having used the term *claritas* on several occasions St. Leo may have chosen *gloria* for the sake of variation. However this may be, the element of light in *gloria* is rarely emphatic.

Finally, *gloria* also indicates the *δόξα* of man, usually his eschatological *δόξα*, which consists in a participation of the *gloria Christi*. In St. Leo we also find the idea that by His incarnation Christ took already all mankind into His glory: *Deitas enim, quae illi cum Patre communis est, nullum detrimentum omnipotentiae subiit, nec Dei formam servi forma violavit, quia summa et sempiterna essentia, quae se ad humani generis inclinavit salutem, nos*

1) *Serm.* 70,3 (PL 54,381 C).

2) *Epist.* 28,4 (PL 54,771 A).

3) *Serm.* 62,1 (PL 54,350 B).

4) *Serm.* 63,1 (PL 54,353 A).

5) *Serm.* 59,7 (PL 54,341 A).

6) *Serm.* 67,6 (PL 54,371 D).

7) *Serm.* 51,3 (PL 54,310 C).

*quidem in suam gloriam transtulit, sed quod erat, esse non destitit*<sup>1)</sup>. This applies also to Christ's resurrection and ascension; with Christ the whole of mankind is glorified: *Vobis enim haec praestatur ascensio, et super omnes coelos ad Patris dexteram collocanda vestra in me humilitas elevatur*<sup>2)</sup>. In order to acquire this glory personally, every individual man must join Christ and realize within himself the truth and mercy of God, *cuius utique gloriae dignitate non aliter potiemur quam si in nobis et misericordia inveniatur et veritas*<sup>3)</sup>. In general, therefore, human glory is a participation in the divine glory. He gives a more concrete description of the eschatological glory. Here he mentions especially the sitting at the right hand of God<sup>4)</sup>, the *immortalitas*<sup>5)</sup>, the *beatitudo* and the *felicitas regnandi* in opposition to the *tentationes*, the *tolerantia* and the *tempus patiendi*, which together constitute man's earthly existence: *... ut licet non oporteret de beatitudinis promissionibus dubitari, intelligeremus tamen inter tentationes huius vitae prius nobis tolerantiam postulandam esse quam gloriam, quia tempora patiendi non potest felicitas praevenire regnandi*<sup>6)</sup>.

*Maiestas* is used only in a Christian, religious sense. He addresses the emperor with *magnificentia tua*<sup>7)</sup>; he also applies this term to the city of Constantinople<sup>8)</sup>. In St. Leo *maiestas* is the exclusive attribute of the divine Persons: *paterna maiestas*<sup>9)</sup>, *maiestas spiritus sancti*<sup>10)</sup>, and very frequently *Dominus maiestatis*<sup>11)</sup>.

The opposite of *maiestas* is *humilitas*, which as St. Leo himself states, often has to be understood in the sense of 'condition humaine': *Forma autem servi, per quam impassibilis Deitas sacramentum magnae pietatis implevit, humana humilitas est...*<sup>12)</sup>. Sometimes *humilitas* and *maiestas* have an abstract meaning, almost equivalent to *humanitas* and *divinitas*: *Simul enim apparet cordibus rectis in una eademque persona et humana humilitas et*

1) *Serm.* 27,1 (PL 54,217 A).

2) *Serm.* 77,4 (PL 54,414 A).

3) *Serm.* 45,2 (PL 54,289 A).

4) *Serm.* 77,4 (PL 54,414 A).

5) *Serm.* 95,5 (PL 54,463 B).

6) *Serm.* 51,5 (PL 54,311 C); cf. 29,3 (PL 54,229 B).

7) *Epist.* 49 (PL 54,841 A).

8) *Epist.* 106,5 (PL 54,1007 C).

9) *Serm.* 74,4 (PL 54,398 C).

10) *Serm.* 75,3 (PL 54,401 C).

11) *Serm.* 52,5 (PL 316 B); 25,4 (PL 54,210 D); 31,2 (PL 54,236 B); etc.

12) *Epist.* 124,7 (PL 54,1066 C).

*divina maiestas*<sup>1)</sup>, and *Tali auxilio et natura nostra indigebat et causa, ut reparare humanum genus nec sine maiestate posset humilitas. nec sine humilitate maiestas*<sup>2)</sup>).

Sometimes the idea of power is more prominent in *maiestas*: *Qui ut humanum genus vinculis mortiferae praevaricationis absol-veret, et saevienti diabolo potentiam suae maiestatis occuluit et infirmitatem nostrae humilitatis obiecit*<sup>3)</sup>. Here in particular St. Leo has in mind the power by which God in His invisible majesty created the world and still fills it (*Qui cum omnia invisibili maiestate sua semper impleret*)<sup>4)</sup> and His dreadful power of judgement: *Quid iam poterit maiestas eius iudicatura, cuius hoc potuit humilitas iudicanda?*<sup>5)</sup>. The term *maiestas* insinuates awe. It suggests the numenous inaccessibility of God, His *ineffabilis potentia* and His absolute jurisdiction. Yet His majesty, says St. Leo, does not exclude His *misericordia*<sup>6)</sup>.

Occasionally St. Leo uses *gloria* in a profane sense. This does not call for special attention. *Gloria* has become mainly a religious term used primarily to indicate God's splendour; sometimes it refers to the glory of the Father, but mostly to the glory of Christ. In theological passages of a technical nature it occasionally designates the divinity or the divine nature. Its normal meaning, however, is the fulness of God's Essence in its multifarious aspects. Two attributes are especially prominent: His power and His renown. With regard to Christ it is the power which manifests itself in His miracles, and the renown which He gained by His victory over the devil. The idea of light usually remains in the background.

With regard to the glory of man, renown has been incorporated, to some extent, in the concept of *δόξα*. Considered eschatologically it comprises both the *immortalitatis gloria* and the *felicitas regnandi*. In the case of earthly glory the emphasis is on the *gloria virtutum* or still more on the *gloria martyrii*. The renown of the emperor and of Rome are incorporated in the earthly glory. These various factors are comprised in the *gloria apud Deum*, which also serves the *gloria Dei*.

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1) *Serm.* 37,1 (PL 54,257 B).

2) *Serm.* 38,2 (PL 54,261 B).

3) *Serm.* 62,3 (PL 54,351 B).

4) *Serm.* 25,3 (PL 54,210 B).

5) *Serm.* 52,3 (PL 54,315 C); cf. 61,3 (PL 54,348 A), *Nolite flere pro mundi redemptione morientem, quem in maiestate Patris videbitis iudicantem.*

6) *Serm.* 70,3 (PL 54,381 C).

*Claritas* has become the technical term for the divine light or God's radiant appearance.

*Maiestas* indicates God's majesty, sometimes His imposing appearance or His infinite Essence. In *maiestas* the idea of God's power and especially His fearful power over life and death and over man's happiness is always prominent.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

### THE CONCEPT OF 'GLORIA' ABOUT 400 A.D. IN EARLY-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND ART. ITS SURVIVAL IN THE LITURGY.

Describing the total content of the concept of *gloria* in early-Christian Latin round 400 A.D., we arrive at the following picture:

*Gloria* belongs to God in a special way; the Father possesses all *gloria*, but in Christian thought the *gloria Christi* comes more to the fore. This comprises the full splendour of Christ incarnate as far as He revealed it to men. He manifested it in His life on earth, especially by His miracles and passion, by the activity and sanctity of the Church and her members, and He will reveal it in full at the Last Judgement. On Mount Thabor He revealed His eschatological glory in part to a few of His apostles, and subsequently He called certain chosen persons to the *cognitio* of this *gloria*. But to mankind in general it will be revealed only at the end of time.

We are able to distinguish various elements in this *gloria Christi*. Firstly there is the element of light; it is very prominent in St. Ambrose, influenced as he was by Origin, but it is far less prominent in St. Augustine and St. Leo. Secondly there is the element of power; this idea is associated with His creative power and His omniscience, the miracles He wrought during His sojourn on earth and His universal powers of jurisdiction. The third element is the idea of renown. This is due to Christ by reason of His victory over Satan, the victory of the martyrs over their agony of death and their judges, the victory of the Church over the Roman Empire, the victory of the ascetics over their human weakness, and finally by reason of the courage shown by all Christians who earnestly strive to live according to the teachings of the Gospel. Such are the titles to Christ's renown. Therefore forty days after His

resurrection He made a triumphal entry into heaven and will return as a triumphant victor at the end of the world.

The Kingship of Christ may be mentioned as a fourth element in the *gloria Christi*, or rather as a special mode of representation closely connected with the other three elements. Christ is a King because of His splendid and glorious external appearance, absolute power and glorious victories over His adversaries. In most cases not all these aspects of *gloria* will be discernible at the same time. Now one element will be stressed, now another. Usually each particular text expresses a particular aspect.

The *gloria Christi* has a pronounced epiphanic and eschatological character. It reaches its climax only at the end of time, when Christ will reveal His glory to all men, His light will shine everywhere, His power will brook no opposition and His victory will be complete and manifest to all.

In the technical language of theology *gloria* acquired the meaning of: divinity, divine nature. In theology *gloria* was a more sacred and biblical term for *natura* or *ousia*. And from theology *gloria* in this sense passed into the language of the pulpit, the liturgy and especially the doxologies. The latter thus acquired an anti-Arian significance, and later they were directed against those who refused to acknowledge the eternity of the Son; for this reason the *sicut erat in principio* was added. Thus the *Gloria Patri etc.* became a dogmatic formula.

In the fourth century the *gloria hominis* is a participation in the divine splendour. Concerning the glory of man on earth we may say that, about 400 A.D., it consists in the state of man's justification and his likeness to God. The light-element plays an insignificant part. It is, however, associated with the idea of renown, in this respect it differs from the biblical conception. This renown is the *gloria virtutis*, which all Christians acquire by self-conquest and is gained especially by the ascetics. Sometimes the renown and sanctity of man receives recognition in that he is accorded a prominent office in the Church; he then possesses the *gloria episcopatus*.

There are, however, worldly aspects of this renown. The sharp contrast between profane and Christian renown disappears in the fourth century. St. Ambrose is the first to give more direct attention to profane renown. The Christians of the fourth century no longer regard profane renown with disfavour; they attach a relative value

to renown among men, provided it is based on a good title. This profane glory is, to some extent, christianized, as with the renown of the emperor. It is based on his efforts to protect orthodoxy and defend the empire; as St. Leo the Great says, it is a *gloria apud Deum*. What Tertullian had thought impossible has become a reality: profane and Christian renown become one in the renown of the emperor.

In the fourth century the *gloria* of the Christian in heaven consists essentially in the beatific vision and in the glorification of the body. It comprises, moreover, immortality, *beatitudo* and happiness, in fact, the full bliss of heaven. But the beatific vision and the light-element occupy the most important place; this is due to Pauline, and also to Neoplatonic influence. Here, too, we find the element of power, especially in the idea of the martyrs and the ascetics being co-judges and co-rulers with Christ. All the Blessed in heaven possess renown: they have overcome the world and the devil, enjoy the friendship of God and associate with the apostles and patriarchs. The idea of renown is a legacy of the third century. Its survival is due to assimilation of biblical conceptions of the life to come, as the Christian conception of this after-life assimilated Stoic, Arcadian and Neoplatonic elements during the third and fourth centuries.

In conclusion we shall give the origin of the four elements comprised in the concept of *gloria*: renown, light, power and kingship. All those elements have their origin in the Bible. This applies in a lesser degree to the *motifs* of renown and victory, as the idea of renown in the Bible is not very closely associated with the idea of δόξα. The other elements, however, are clearly part of the biblical idea of δόξα. But in the third and fourth centuries these elements sometimes received special emphasis and a special colour which was no longer biblical.

In the Latin translations of the Bible there is not yet a direct connexion between the idea of renown and *gloria*. The Christians of the third century were the first to associate the Christian idea of victory with the word *gloria*. At the same time the persecutions then raging and the heroism of the martyrs coloured their interpretations of this idea of *gloria*! This victory-complex lived on after 313 A.D. and was enriched with certain new aspects derived from the political victory of Christianity and the expansion of the



Church, though at the same time it lost much of its predominant character. About the year 400 A.D. this element still played an important part, though no longer a predominant one.

The element of light is of biblical origin, but, as we said before, it is typical of the fourth century. For at that time the idea of light received special emphasis from the general tendency towards light-mysticism, the influence of the sun-cult, the scientific development of biblical exegesis, and, to some extent, the influence of Neoplatonism.

The idea of power, like that of light, belongs to the essence of *δόξα*. This meaning attached itself especially to *maiestas*, but is also connected, particularly in the fourth century, with the word *gloria*. It is, however, the least prominent element in the concept of *gloria*.

The idea of Christ's kingship also has its origin in the Bible. In the third century this idea is not yet much in evidence. Christ is mainly regarded as a triumphant commander. But in the fourth century the idea of kingship is associated not only with Christ's glorious victories, but also with His power and the splendour of His appearance. This idea is typical of the literature and the iconography of the Theodosian period.

Now the question might be asked how those four elements of the *gloria Christi* found expression in early-Christian art.

We have already seen how the renown of Christ is represented in the plastic arts, the wreath being the symbol principally used.

In later representations of Christ we also find elements and symbols expressing His radiant splendour, power and kingship. Towards the end of the fourth century these *motifs* become more pronounced, while the wreath lost much of its symbolic meaning after 400 A.D.

Firstly there is a whole series of symbols representing the divine splendour of Christ: the celestial bodies, sun, moon and stars, sometimes incorporated in the representation, sometimes used only as a background for the representation; further, the nimbus and later on the 'mandorla'. In the beginning they are only accidental elements and are found along with other more prominent symbols. Gradually they come to dominate the representation.

On the sarcophagus of Manosque we observe a merging of the idea of renown and the light-*motif*. The sun, moon and stars are





seen in the upper part of the front, while below them the apostles acclaim the triumphal cross (Pl. VIII) <sup>1)</sup>).

Reference has already been made to the representation of the ascension on the door of the church of S. Sabina and in the Codex of Rabula; here also Christ is seen crowned with the wreath of victory and ascending to heaven in an ethereal sphere <sup>2)</sup>).

There is an increasing tendency to adorn the cross, the wreath and the throne of Christ and even His garments with gold and precious stones; this, too, stresses the brightness and splendour of Christ's external appearance.

Furthermore, mention should be made of the representations in which Christ is depicted with a nimbus or in a 'mandorla'. These elements express His heavenly splendour more explicitly. It is remarkable that these symbols as such were not introduced into early-Christian art under the immediate influence of the fourth century tendency towards light-symbolism. Long before, the nimbus had been an imperial attribute, and the celestial bodies also had occupied an important part in the representations of the emperor. It is clear that they were borrowed by the Christians from the profane, and especially the imperial, iconography.

From this we conclude that those symbols indicated not only the *claritas Christi*, but also His royal power and dignity. There is of course a very close connexion between the symbols of Christ's splendour and the tendency towards light-mysticism in the fourth century, but the idea of kingship also has to be considered.

And this directs our attention to a second group of symbols, viz. those that indicate the royal power and dignity of Christ.

It is only in the fourth century that the *motif* of Christ's kingship receives general acceptance. In the third century the *Rex gloriae* is still regarded rather as a renowned *Imperator* who leads his army to victory. Not until the fourth century do we meet with representations of Christ in which He is depicted as a King seated on a throne in might and majesty. This idea arose not only because biblical conceptions began to penetrate deeper into the Christian consciousness, but also because the attitude of the Christians towards the emperor and the imperial dignity had undergone a fundamental change. In the third century the emperor was the antithesis of Christ, in the christianized empire the emperor is he who in the

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1) WS Tav. 242,6; cf. 11,1; 192,6; 238,6-7; 239,1-2; 240,2.

2) Cf. *supra* p. 123.

eyes of men embodies the power and greatness of Christ. KLAUS WESSEL has pointed out that this new point of view exercised a great influence on the iconography of Christ<sup>1)</sup>. In consequence, imperial attributes and symbols increasingly found their way into the representations of Christ. In the earlier part of the fourth century we observe only vague indications of their occurrence, but in the Theodosian era they become more frequent.

We have already referred to the parallel between the wreath-carrying *magi* and the emperor receiving the tribute of his subjects<sup>2)</sup>. In this connexion KLAUS WESSEL refers to the Jairus sarcophagus which depicts Christ as an emperor being crowned with wreaths by his soldiers<sup>3)</sup>, and to the typically imperial gesture of Christ on Sarc. 151 Lat. The representation of Christ as seated on a throne above the heavens and wearing a nimbus is also a symbol borrowed from the imperial iconography<sup>4)</sup>. On a sarcophagus from the imperial residence of Ravenna we see Christ seated on a throne, adorned with lions' heads, with a footstool and a fillet in His hair<sup>5)</sup>.

This is the development of the representation of Christ as the *Imperator* who sits enthroned in the full splendour and power of His kingship. In the East the symbols of renown, power, splendour and kingship give rise to the impressive composition of the *Maiestas*, which is largely determined by the *δόξα*-conception of Isaias, Ezechiel and Daniel<sup>6)</sup>.

We also meet with the *gloria Christi* and the *gloria hominis* in the liturgy. STEINHEIMER's study contains much material on this subject, although the fact that in the course of time the concept of *gloria* was modified appears to escape his attention<sup>7)</sup>. No account is taken of the aspects of renown and victory in the *gloria Christi*. He does not seem to know the meaning of the expressions *lumen verum* and *lux nova*<sup>8)</sup>. The light-mysticism, which played so

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1) KLAUS WESSEL, *Christus Rex, Kaiserkult und Christusbild*, Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts, 68 (1953), p. 118-136.

2) Cf. supra p. 118, WESSEL 135.

3) WS Tav. 38,2.

4) Sarc. 174 Lat., WESSEL 130.

5) DUTSCHKE, Abb. 29a.

6) F. v. D. MEER, *Maestas Domini*, Città del Vaticano 1938.

7) M. STEINHEIMER, *Die Δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ in der römischen Liturgie*, München 1951.

8) STEINHEIMER, p. 52.

important a part in the liturgy of Christmas and Easter, is entirely reduced to biblical elements. In order to ascertain the content of *gloriosus* he adds the *Postcommunio* from the Mass of the Confessor Ludovicus to a text from the *Sacramentarium Leonianum* concerning St. Stephen without apparent regard for the change of meaning<sup>1)</sup>. Among different texts from the *Sacr. Leon.* and *Gelas.* we suddenly come across the *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* of St. Ignatius of Loyola<sup>2)</sup>. Because STEINHEIMER ignores the development of the concept of *gloria*, his study loses a great deal of its value. This does not alter the fact that the material he collected will retain its claim to our interest.

STEINHEIMER's book does justice to the biblical aspects of *gloria* in the liturgy. We shall show in broad outline that besides the Bible the typically early-Christian ideas left their traces in the liturgy.

The idea of the *gloria martyrum* is mainly found in the liturgy of the martyrs. We meet with the same biblical quotations as those in Tertullian and St. Cyprian, viz. *Exsultabunt sancti in gloria, laetabuntur in cubilibus suis*<sup>3)</sup>. — *Laudabuntur omnes recti corde*<sup>4)</sup>. — *Gloria et honore coronasti eum*<sup>5)</sup>. The texts which Tertullian cited to prove the obligation of martyrdom occur again here: *Omnis ergo qui confitebitur me coram hominibus, confitebor et ego coram Patre meo*<sup>6)</sup>. — *Qui non accipit crucem suam et sequatur me, non est me dignus*<sup>7)</sup>. — *Tamquam aurum in fornace probavit eos*<sup>8)</sup>. References to the *militia Christi* are also frequent<sup>9)</sup>.

The text *gloriosus Deus in sanctis suis*<sup>10)</sup> reminds us of the *gloria Dei*, in so far as the *gloria Dei* is obtained in the combats of the martyrs.

The *gloria virginitatis* is found in the *Commune virginum*, which also expresses the typically Roman attitude of surprise at the existence of a female *virtus*: *Deus qui inter cetera potentiae*

1) STEINHEIMER 46.

2) STEINHEIMER 50.

3) MR, *Pro plur. mart., altera missa, Offertorium.*

4) MR, *Pro mart. non Pont., altera missa, Introitus.*

5) MR, *Pro mart. Pont., altera missa, Graduale; Pro mart. non Pont., Offertorium.*

6) MR, *Pro mart. non Pont., altera missa, Evangelium; Pro plur. mart., tertia missa, Evangelium.*

7) MR, *Pro mart. Pont., Evangelium; Pro mart. non Pont., Evangelium.*

8) MR, *Pro plur. mart., Epistula.*

9) *Sacramentarium Leonianum* ed. by C. L. FELTOE, 384; cf. STEINHEIMER 43.

10) MR, *Pro plur. mart., Graduale.*

*tuae miracula, etiam in sexu fragili victoriam martyrii contulisti*<sup>1)</sup>. —  *Qui gloriatur in Domino gloriatur; ... geminatae gloriae triumphum virginitas implevit et passio*<sup>2)</sup>. —  *... multiplicem victoriam virgo casta et martyr explevit*<sup>3)</sup>.

In the liturgy of the *Festa Domini* we are given a very complete picture of the *gloria Christi*. In the liturgy of Christmas the light-motif is very much in evidence: *Deus qui hanc sacratissimam noctem veri luminis fecisti illustratione clarescere*<sup>4)</sup>. It also has references to the winter solstice: *Nova lux claritatis infulsit*<sup>5)</sup>. The *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* has the following prayer *In Theophania: Deus qui huius celebritatis mysterium aeternitatis tuae lumen cunctis gentibus suscitasti, da plebi tuae Redemptoris sui plenum cognoscere fulgorem, ut ad perpetuam claritatem per eius incrementa perveniat*<sup>6)</sup>. In this connexion STEINHEIMER also quotes texts from the liturgy of Easter-Saturday, the ordination of acolytes and the *De coemeterii Benedictione*, in which Christ is called *dies aeternus, lux indeficiens*<sup>7)</sup>.

The aspects of renown and victory are particularly evident in the liturgy of Holy Week and the Ascension. Even before the *Exultet* describes Christ as the light, it says: *et pro tanti regis victoria tuba insonet salutaris*, and again: *Haec nox est in qua destructis vinculis mortis Christus ab inferis victor ascendit. Nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi*<sup>8)</sup>. If in the liturgy of Holy Week the combat and victory of Christ receive special emphasis, in the liturgy of Ascension Christ is represented as the triumphant conqueror who with great splendour makes his triumphal entry into his kingdom: *O Rex gloriae, Domine virtutum, qui triumphator hodie super omnes caelos ascendisti ...*<sup>9)</sup>. — *VD quia mirantibus angelis angelorumque principibus Rex gloriae Dominus-que virtutum resurrectionis beatae primitias throno tuae maiestatis oblatas in tua tecum dextera collocavit*<sup>10)</sup>.

Power, too, finds frequent expression in the liturgy and also

1) MR, *Pro virg. et mart., collecta*.

2) *Sacr. Leon.* 406; STEINHEIMER 39.

3) *Liber sacramentorum*, cf. STEINHEIMER 39, n. 138.

4) *Sacramentarium Gelasianum* (The Gelasian Sacramentary ed. by H. A. WILSON), I,2,1; STEINHEIMER 30.

5) MR, *Preface of Christmas*.

6) *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, I,12,8; STEINHEIMER 28, n. 87.

7) STEINHEIMER 29.

8) MR, *In coena Domini, Introitus*.

9) BR, *In Asc. Dom., 2. Vesp., Ant. ad Magn.*

10) *Sacr. Leonianum*, 315, *Preces in Ascensa Domini*; STEINHEIMER 37.

the aspect of God's kingship. Power and kingship are usually expressed by *maiestas*.

In general, the liturgy is closely allied to the Bible. *Gloria Dei* is often used as a general indication of God's full splendour and majesty, e.g. in *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, ... *gratias agimus Tibi propter magnam gloriam Tuam*. The original meaning of *gloria* in the *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto* was of a more theological nature<sup>1</sup>).

So in the liturgy we find traces of the development which the concept of *gloria* underwent in the early times of Christianity. The connexion with the Bible is more intimate in the liturgy than in early-Christian literature. And the frequent use of the term *claritas* points to a marked influence of the early translations of the Bible.

The concept of *gloria* does not reach its final development in the fifth century, but continues to develop in late Christian Latin and in the Romance languages. RHEINFELDER has drawn attention to the fact that the influence of the liturgy on this subsequent development has been considerable<sup>2</sup>).

The conception of God's splendour, which occupies an important place in the liturgy, has left interesting traces in the Romance languages. In the Italian language 'gloria' is the term used to indicate the aureole of the Saints on the occasion of a canonization. This is a concrete expression of the biblical *Kabod*. The celestial background seen in many paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is called a 'gloria' in art-history. The French 'gloire' denotes a dais on which an actor representing God is placed and put in the limelight<sup>3</sup>). In Spanish 'gloria' is used to indicate a special kind of silk, 'gloria silk' of which veils are made for the statues of Our Lady in order to create the impression of an aureole<sup>4</sup>).

Furthermore, 'gloria' occurs in the sense of joy, especially in Italian and Spanish: 'essere in gloria', 'suonare in gloria'<sup>5</sup>). Suchlike expressions also have their origin in the liturgy, e.g. the ringing of the bells during the singing of the 'Gloria' on Easter-Saturday as a sign of the Paschal joy<sup>6</sup>). 'Tutti salmi finiscono in gloria'

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1) Cf. supra p. 175.

2) H. RHEINFELDER, *Gloria, Festgabe f. Karl Vossler*, Munchen 1932.

3) RHEINFELDER, *Gloria*, p. 49.

4) RHEINFELDER, *Gloria*, 49.

5) RHEINFELDER, *Gloria*, 50.

6) RHEINFELDER, *Gloria*, 51.



is an allusion to the *Gloria Patri* with which every psalm is concluded <sup>1)</sup>. And a Dutch popular song has: may he live long in 'gloria'.

Still more important is the influence which the early-Christian concept of *gloria* has on the medieval conception of God and on the ideal of renown among the feudal knighthood <sup>2)</sup>. But this would carry us beyond the scope of this study.

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<sup>1)</sup> RHEINFELDER, *Gloria*, 52.

<sup>2)</sup> CHR. MOHRMANN, *Het Middeleeuws Latijn als substraat van Westeuropese cultuur*, Utrecht 1956, p. 21.

## SAMENVATTING

*Gloria* is een van de meest belangwekkende woorden van het oud-christelijk latijn. Het is een belangrijk ontmoetingspunt van het antieke denken en streven met de joodse en vroegchristelijke gedachtenwereld. Deze ontmoeting van heidense en christelijke ideeën in het woord *gloria* heeft het eerst plaats gehad in de bijbelvertalingen. En deze ontmoeting heeft zich steeds weer herhaald, in iedere periode, ook bij iedere auteur afzonderlijk. Vandaar de veranderingen en de ontwikkeling van het *gloria*-begrip, die wij hebben beschreven voor de periode van 200 tot 450.

Ondanks alle verklaringen blijft het een hoogst merkwaardig verschijnsel, dat in de europese bijbelvertalingen *gloria* via *δόξα* het equivalent is geworden van *kabod*. Dit is een typisch staaltje van mechanische vertaalwijze. Niet duidelijk is, of deze vertaal-methode hier gehanteerd is uit wanbegrip of uit eerbied voor de Schrift. Te snel mogen wij niet tot wanbegrip bij de bijbelvertalers besluiten. Daarvoor vinden we in de africaanse vertalingen een opvallend bewijs. Hier immers is *claritas* de voornaamste weergave van *δόξα* geworden. Deze vertaling duidt ondubbelzinnig op begrip voor het lichtkarakter van *δόξα*. Misschien is dit begrip te verklaren door contact van de vertalers met rabbijnen, maar zeker weten wij het niet. Dit begrip echter voor de bijbelse betekenis van *δόξα* is bij de europese vertalers slechts zwak aanwezig geweest. In de hele derde eeuw immers vinden wij in het Westen het *δόξα*-begrip niet terug, tenzij bij Tertullianus. De oorzaak hiervan is de overheersende rol, die de roemidee bij de christenen speelde. Mede daardoor is *gloria* in Italië de vertaling van *δόξα* geworden. En toen *gloria* eenmaal Italië en vooral Rome achter zich had, heeft het ook gezegevierd over *claritas*, en heeft het in de Vulgaat *claritas* grotendeels verdrongen. Naast *gloria* en *claritas* heeft *maiestas* slechts een bescheiden rol gespeeld.

Dat de vroegste christenen in het Westen totaal geen begrip hadden voor het bijbelse *δόξα*, kunnen wij moeilijk veronderstellen. Waarschijnlijk hebben zij het *δόξα*-begrip van St.-Jan en St.-Paulus niet geheel doorzien. Maar op bepaalde plaatsen, b.v. bij de theo-

fanieën van het Oude Testament, moeten zij minstens iets ervan begrepen hebben. Deze teksten maakten echter geen diepe indruk op hen. De eerste christenen gingen niet op in lichtsymboliek. Wat hen fascineerde, was de christelijke heldenmoed van de martelaren. En daardoor kreeg de bijbelse betekenis van *gloria* geen kans om door te dringen in het algemene christelijke Latijn.

Op vele plaatsen van de bijbel gaf *gloria* in de zin van roem de oorspronkelijke betekenis van de tekst goed weer. En op vele andere plaatsen was het voor iemand, die de achtergrond van de bijbel niet bestudeerd had, toch voor de hand liggend *gloria* als roem of eer te verstaan. Dit gold te meer omdat de roem zulk een grote plaats innam in het gedachtenleven van een Romein. De christenen konden echter deze roem niet verstaan in de klassieke heidense betekenis: roem bij de mensen. Zo kwamen zij tot een nieuw en zuiver christelijk roembegrip: roem in de ogen van God en van de medechristenen. Deze roem schreven zij toe aan Christus en de martelaren (soms aan de maagden), die de duivel strijdend en stervend overwonnen hadden. Het is dus een overwinningsroem.

De roem van de martelaren heeft een aards en een eschatologisch aspect. Het aardse aspect omvat alle eretitels en voorrechten en heel de verering van de martelaar tijdens zijn leven en na zijn dood. Belangrijker echter voor de ontwikkeling van *gloria* is het eschatologisch aspect van de *gloria martyrum*. De roem na het leven omvat het goedkeurende en prijzende oordeel van God over de daden van de mens, het gezelschap van de apostelen en patriarchen, het mee-oordelen en mee-regeren met Christus. Hieraan worden echter ook verbonden de eer en het geluk van de Gods-aanschouwing, en de onsterfelijkheid; en ook de hemelse heerlijkheid, die nu eens gezien wordt als een geestelijke lichtschijn, dan weer als een uitstralen van de roem. In de derde eeuw vinden wij dus reeds in het eschatologische *gloria*-begrip een verbinding van bijbelse elementen met de vroegchristelijke roemidee. Hierin is de roem het overheersende motief. Toch is de bijbelse betekenis van 'de eschatologische heerlijkheid van de mens' enigermate door het woord *gloria* aanvaard.

Dit kunnen wij niet zeggen van de bijbelse betekenis, 'de heerlijkheid van God'. Deze vinden wij slechts in de dogmatisch-polemische en exegetische werken van Tertullianus. Deze heeft dit begrip waarschijnlijk bij Origenes gevonden, want *δόξα* komt in deze zin vaak bij Origenes en Clemens Alexandrinus voor. Maar Cyprianus

en Novatianus spreken nooit duidelijk over deze heerlijkheid van God. Wel vinden wij bij hen de *gloria Christi* met de betekenis van overwinningsroem. En deze roem van Christus wordt door hen ook verbonden met verschillende bijbelse voorstellingen. De *gloria* van de verrijzenis is de roem die Christus behaalt door Zijn overwinning op de dood. De *gloria* van de hemelvaart is de roem van Christus die als triomfator de hemel binnentrekt. En de *gloria* van de laatste dag is de roem en eer van Christus die alle volkeren aan zich onderwerpt en oordeelt. In deze laatste voorstelling wordt de roemidee vermengd met de gedachte van Christus' koningschap: Christus zal op de wolken verschijnen als overwinnaar en als koning in al Zijn macht en majesteit.

In de vierde eeuw ondergaat de christelijke roemidee een verandering, maar zij blijft aan het woord *gloria* vastzitten. Deze ontwikkeling van *gloria* is echter bijkomstig. De voornaamste ontwikkeling van *gloria* in deze eeuw bestaat hierin dat de bijbelse betekenis nu definitief naar voren komt. Dit verschijnsel heeft verschillende oorzaken. Er is op de eerste plaats een belangrijke negatieve oorzaak: sinds het martelaarschap niet meer tot de normale mogelijkheden van iedere christen behoort, beheerst de roemidee niet meer zo sterk het denken en streven van de christenen. Daardoor krijgt de bijbelse betekenis van *gloria* nu meer kans! Er zijn echter ook positieve oorzaken aan te wijzen. Dat is vooreerst de zucht naar lichtsymboliek die door de zonnecultus sterk bevorderd is. Vervolgens de wetenschappelijke ontwikkeling van de theologie en de exegese. En enigszins de invloed van het neoplatonisme.

*Gloria* komt nu vooral aan God toe. Alle *gloria* is het bezit van de Vader. Maar toch staat in de geest van de Christenen de *gloria Christi* meer op de voorgrond. Deze *gloria Christi* omvat de volledige heerlijkheid van de Godmens, voorzover Hij deze aan de mensen geopenbaard heeft. En deze openbaring heeft Hij bewerkt door Zijn aards bestaan, vooral door Zijn wonderen en Zijn passie, verder door de activiteit en de heiligheid van de Kerk en haar leden; en tenvolle zal Hij Zijn heerlijkheid openbaren bij het Laatste Oordeel. Iets van deze eschatologische glorie heeft Hij reeds op de berg Thabor aan enkele apostelen getoond, en ook later heeft Hij soms enige ingewijden geroepen tot de *cognitio* van deze *gloria*. Maar de massa der mensen moet wachten tot het einde der tijden.

In Christus' heerlijkheid kunnen wij verschillende aspecten onderscheiden, m.n. die van roem, van licht, macht en koningschap. Na 313 werden de christenen steeds minder preuts in de overname van ideeën en symbolen die heidens van oorsprong waren. Terwijl in de derde eeuw de christenen alleen maar afwijzend stonden tegenover de zonnecultus, pasten zij in de vierde eeuw de lichtsymboliek graag op Christus toe, en noemden zij Hem, met een bijbelse uitdrukking, de ware Zon, de *Sol iustitiae*. Vooral Ambrosius werkte deze symboliek breedvoerig uit, en volgde hierin Origenes soms bijna letterlijk na. Augustinus en Leo de Grote besteedden minder aandacht aan deze lichtsymboliek; bij hen heeft het licht-element in de Godsvoorstelling meer een bijbels karakter. Of het neoplatonisme deze neiging naar lichtmystiek nog versterkt heeft, is niet geheel duidelijk. Er zijn bij Ambrosius en Augustinus slechts weinig sporen van een dergelijke invloed aan te wijzen. De voornaamste factor is de algemene zucht naar lichtsymboliek, die de vierde eeuw kenmerkt en waardoor ook de viering van de *Nativitas Christi* op 25 december beïnvloed is.

Een ander aspect van de *gloria Christi* is de roemidee. Deze roemidee leeft ook in de vierde eeuw nog voort, zij het in enigszins gewijzigde vorm. In de ogen van de vierde-eeuwse christenen komt aan Christus roem toe krachtens Zijn overwinning op de duivel door Zijn passie, krachtens de overwinning van de martelaren op hun doodsangst en hun rechters; en ook, dit in tegenstelling tot de roemidee der derde eeuw, krachtens de overwinning van de Kerk op het heidendom, krachtens de overwinning van de asceten op hun zwakheid en krachtens de moed van alle christenen die ernstig pogen naar het Evangelie te leven. Als overwinnaar heeft Christus daarom veertig dagen na Zijn verrijzenis een triomfale intocht in de hemel gehouden, het kruis als *tropaeum* met Zich mee voerend, terwijl de verlost en het Oude Verbond Hem volgden en engelen Hem als triomfator begroetten. En als triomfator zal Hij ook weer verschijnen op het einde der tijden.

Het derde element is de idee van macht. In het bijbelse *Kabod*-begrip is dit het overheersende element. In het *gloria*-begrip speelt dit echter slechts een vrij zwakke rol; de idee van macht drukken de oude christenen liever uit door het woord *maiestas*. Deze *maiestas* van God is in hun zienswijze vooral verbonden met Zijn Schepingsmacht en alwetendheid, met de wonderen die Christus wrochte tijdens Zijn aardse leven, en met Diens universele oordeelsmacht.

Niet zozeer als vierde element, maar meer als een bijzondere voorstellingswijze die met alle drie genoemde elementen samenhangt, willen wij het koningschap van Christus noemen. Koning immers is Hij door Zijn schitterende en luisterrijke gestalte, door Zijn roemrijke overwinningen op al Zijn tegenstanders, en door Zijn absolute macht over al het geschapene.

Meestal zal men niet al deze aspecten van *gloria* tegelijk herkennen. Nu eens komt het ene element naar voren, dan weer een ander facet. Een afzonderlijke tekst geeft meestal maar een bepaald facet weer.

Wij moeten er nog op wijzen dat deze *gloria Christi* een sterk epifanisch en eschatologisch karakter heeft. Evenals in het *Kabod*-begrip gaat het ook in het *gloria*-begrip niet om de grootheid en heerlijkheid van God in zich, maar voorzover deze naar buiten treden en voor de mens waarneembaar zijn. En het hoogtepunt van deze epifanie, van deze openbaring van Gods heerlijkheid zal pas bereikt worden op het einde der tijden, wanneer Christus aan iedereen Zijn glorie zal tonen, wanneer Zijn licht overal zal stralen, Zijn overwinning duidelijk en volkomen zal zijn, en Zijn macht in het eindoordeel geen schijn van tegenstand meer zal dulden.

In de theologische vaktaal kreeg *gloria* de betekenis van: goddelijkheid, goddelijke natuur. In de theologie was *gloria* een meer gewijde en bijbelse term voor *natura* of *ousia*. En vanuit de theologie kwam *gloria* met deze betekenis ook in de preken en in de liturgie, vooral in de doxologie. De doxologie kreeg hierdoor een anti-ariaanse betekenis. En nog later werd de doxologie gericht tegen degenen die de eeuwigheid van de Zoon niet wilden erkennen; vandaar werd het *sicut erat in principio* eraan toegevoegd. Zo werd dus het *gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum* een dogmatische formule.

De *gloria hominis* is in de vierde eeuw een deelhebben aan Gods heerlijkheid. Wat de glorie van de mens hier op aarde betreft, kunnen wij zeggen dat deze *gloria*, in de vierde eeuw, bestaat in de rechtvaardigingstoestand van de mens en zijn gelijkenis met God. Het lichtelement speelt hier dus geen rol van belang. Wel wordt hiermee, dit in tegenstelling tot de Schrift, de roemidee nauw verbonden. Met deze roem is bedoeld de *gloria virtutis*, die alle christenen behalen door de strijd met zichzelf aan te binden, en die vooral de asceten verwerven. Soms vinden de roem en de

heiligheid van een mens hier op aarde erkenning, doordat hij een voorname functie in de Kerk krijgt; dan bezit hij de *gloria episcopatus* of *gloria sacerdotii*.

Er zijn echter ook wereldlijke aspecten aan deze roem. De scherpe tegenstelling tussen profane en christelijke roem verdwijnt in de vierde eeuw. Ambrosius is de eerste die meer positieve aandacht besteedt aan de profane roem. De christenen van de vierde eeuw wijzen de profane roem niet meer af, maar kennen een relatieve waarde toe aan de roem bij mensen, als deze roem althans op een goede titel gefundeerd is. Ten dele ook wordt de profane roem gekerstend; dit is het geval met de roem van de keizer. Deze berust op zijn streven om zowel de orthodoxie als het imperium te handhaven, en is, zoals Leo de Grote zegt, een *gloria apud deum*. Wat Tertullianus voor onmogelijk had gehouden, is gebeurd: de profane en de christelijke roem vallen samen in de roem van de keizer.

De *gloria* van de christen in het hiernamaals bestaat in de vierde eeuw essentieel in de aanschouwing van Gods glorie en de verheerlijking van het vlees. Zij omvat verder de onsterfelijkheid, de *beatitudo* en de vreugde, kortom het volledige hemelse geluk. Maar het element van de Godsaanschouwing en, in verband hiermee, de idee van licht nemen de belangrijkste plaats in; hiervan zijn de oorzaken de invloed van Paulus' brieven en, in mindere mate, het neoplatonisme. Het element van macht is ook hier aanwezig, vooral in de figuren van de martelaren en asceten die mee-oordelen en mee-regeren met Christus. En roem bezitten alle zaligen, daar zij de duivel en de wereld overwonnen hebben, de vriendschap van God genieten en omgang hebben met de apostelen en patriarchen. Deze roemidee is een erfenis van de derde eeuw. Zij heeft zich gehandhaafd door zich met de bijbelse voorstellingen van het hiernamaals te verbinden; zo hebben zich in de loop van de derde en vierde eeuw stoïsche en neoplatoonse, soms ook arcadische, elementen aan de christelijke voorstelling van het hiernamaals gehecht.

Hier mogen nog enkele korte opmerkingen volgen over de oorsprong van de vier elementen die het *gloria*-begrip bevat: roem, licht, macht en koningschap. Al deze elementen stammen, in meerdere of mindere mate, uit de bijbel. Dit geldt voor het roem- en overwinningsmotief het minst, in zoverre als in de bijbel de roemidee niet zo nauw met het *δόξα*-begrip verbonden is.

De overige elementen echter behoren zeer duidelijk tot het bijbelse *δόξα*-begrip. In de derde en vierde eeuw nu hebben deze elementen soms een bijzondere nadruk en een speciale kleur gekregen die niet meer bijbels is.

Tussen het roembegrip en *gloria* bestond in de Latijnse bijbelvertalingen nog geen directe band. Het waren de derde-eeuwse christenen die hun overwinningsbesef aan het woord *gloria* koppelden. Tegelijk gaven de vervolgingen van die tijd en de heldenmoed van de martelaren aan dit *gloria*-begrip een grote suggestieve kracht en een geheel eigen kleur. Dit overwinningscomplex bleef na 313 voortleven en werd nog met enige aspecten verrijkt door de politieke overwinning van het christendom en de expansie van de Kerk; maar tegelijkertijd verloor het veel van zijn overheersend karakter. Rond 400 speelde dit element zeker nog een belangrijke, maar niet meer een overheersende rol.

Het lichtelement is bijbels van oorsprong, maar zoals we gezien hebben, ook typisch vierde-eeuws. In de vierde eeuw immers kreeg de lichtidee een bijzondere nadruk door de algemene zucht naar lichtmystiek in die tijd, de invloed van de zonnecultus, de wetenschappelijke ontwikkeling van de exegese, en enigszins ook door de invloed van het neoplatonisme.

De machtidee behoort in de bijbel tezamen met de lichtidee tot het wezen van de *δόξα*. Deze betekenis hecht zich vooral aan *maiestas*, maar is, vooral in de vierde eeuw, ook aan het woord *gloria* verbonden. Het is in het *gloria*-begrip echter het minst opvallende element.

De voorstelling van Christus' koningschap stamt eveneens uit de bijbel. In de derde eeuw is deze voorstelling slechts vrij zwak aanwezig. Dan wordt Christus vooral gezien als de zegevierende aanvoerder. In de vierde eeuw echter wordt de idee van koningschap niet alleen verbonden met Christus' overwinningsroem, maar ook met Zijn macht en de luister van Zijn gestalte. Deze voorstelling is typerend voor de literatuur, zowel als voor de iconografie in de Theodosiaanse tijd.



## INDEX I. GREEK

- βασιλεία*, 18.  
*βαρύνειν*, 6.  
*γελᾶν*, 23.  
*γνώσις*, 166, 173.  
*δόξα*, 11—17, 20, 30, 112, 167, 186, 203, 223.  
*Δόξα*, 11.  
*δοξάζειν*, 11, 17, 18, 22, 112, 186, 203.  
*δοξάζεσθαι*, 17.  
*δύναμις*, 14, 17, 18.  
*εἰρήνη*, 13.  
*ἔνδοξος*, 19.  
*ἐξομολογεῖσθαι*, 13, 55.  
*ἐπιφάνεια*, 12.  
*ἥλιος*, 167, 168, 172.  
*ἥλιος δικαιοσύνης*, 167.  
*θρόνος*, 14.  
*κεχαριτωμένη*, 21.  
*κηρύττειν*, 55, 57.  
*Κλέα*, 11.  
*κλέος*, 33, 34.  
*κλήσις*, 15.  
*κύριος*, 10, 118, 124.  
*Λόγος*, 57, 59, 167.  
*μαρτυρεῖν*, 55.  
*μαρτύριον*, 55.  
*μάρτυς*, 57, 59.  
*μεγαλύνειν*, 21.  
*νοῦς*, 172, 173.  
*οἰκονομία*, 30.  
*οὐσία*, 172.  
*παθήματα*, 14, 15.  
*παθών*, 58.  
*πανόπτης*, 162.  
*πόλις*, 30.  
*σελήνη*, 168, 172.  
*σκάνδαλον*, 17.  
*στέφανος*, 15.  
*σωτήρ*, 18, 118, 124, 168.  
*τρόπαιον*, 120.  
*φῶς*, 165, 172.  
*φωστήρ*, 165.

## INDEX II. LATIN

- Acies*, 68, 69, 109.  
*adventus*, 137, 157, 192, 193, 201.  
*adversarius*, 63, 114, 126, 149.  
*aegyptius*, 74.

*agon*, 54, 96, 98, 110, 116.

*agonisticus*, 69.

*agonothetes*, 54.

*amicus Dei*, 72.

*amicus imperatoris*, 72.

*ambitio*, 41, 45, 84.

*amor*, 33, 38, 51, 84.

*apostata*, 26.

*athleta*, 54.

*auctoritas*, 142.

*Baptisma*, 71.

*baptista*, 26.

*baptizator*, 26.

*beatitudo*, 178, 218, 222.

*beatus*, 83, 103, 105, 106, 112, 177.

*Caritas*, 1, 46.

*castra*, 68.

*celebrare*, 22, 50, 87, 88.

*certamen*, 34, 68, 78, 95, 101, 110.

*character*, 151.

*cicatrix*, 54, 79.

*clarificare*, 19, 22, 24, 112, 114, 144,  
148, 164, 180, 183, 206, 213,  
215, 217.

*clarificatio*, 123, 145, 186, 193—197,  
210.

*claritas*, 19, 25, 89, 112, 186, 191—  
197, 210, 214, 225, 229.

— *aeterna*, 144.

— *divina*, 199.

— *futura*, 141, 142, 183, 211.

— *paterna*, 140.

— *perpetua*, 149, 228.

— *regia*, 215.

— *spiritalis*, 136.

— *superventura*, 72, 141.

— *carnis*, 183.

— *innubae carnis*, 140.

— *luminis*, 25.

— *operum*, 180.

— *solis*, 25, 156—174, 175.

— *stellarum*, 25, 141.

— *virtutis*, 149, 159, 183.

*claritudo*, 47, 144, 145, 153, 183,  
216.

*clarus*, 65, 143.

*clementia*, 46, 76, 100.

*cognitio*, 150, 160, 161, 166, 173,  
176.

*confessio*, 65, 69, 95, 110, 143, 164.

*confessor*, 65, 70, 95, 108.

*confiteri*, 13, 55, 56, 84, 145, 227.

*congressio*, 68.

*consortium*, 75, 156.

— *angelorum*, 80, 181.

— *patriarcharum*, 181.

*consummatio*, 65, 70.

*contumelia*, 110, 186, 207, 216.

*conversatio*, 79, 99, 110.

*conversio*, 79, 148, 181.

*corona*, 38, 42, 54, 65, 68, 97, 101,  
104, 145.

— *candida*, 98.

— *gloriosa*, 69.

— *immarcescibilis*, 92, 93.

— *iustitiae*, 178.

— *purpurea*, 69, 98.

— *Christi*, 93, 115—123.

— *confessionis*, 69.

— *diaboli*, 93.

— *gloriae*, 93, 116.

— *martyrii*, 91—95, 102, 117.

*coronare*, 64, 79, 87, 90, 96, 110,  
111, 116, 164.

*crux*, 61, 94, 104, 110, 111, 114,  
121, 122, 156, 194, 207, 227.

- Deducere*, 45, 79, 181, 182.  
*diabolus*, 38, 72, 78, 83, 111, 114.  
*dignitas*, 37, 69, 106, 107, 137, 154, 193, 218.  
*divinitas*, 142, 152, 155, 182, 190, 208, 212, 214, 215, 216.  
*divitiae*, 42, 44, 47.  
*dominus*, 70, 79, 106, 136, 145, 152.  
*dux*, 68.
- Exinanitio*, 154, 216.  
*exinanire*, 157, 158, 165, 193.
- Fama*, 30—33, 48, 49, 54, 63, 75, 102, 111, 112, 113, 114, 186, 203.  
*felicitas*, 87, 210, 218.  
*fides*, 1, 41, 69, 70, 75, 79, 82, 100, 104, 159, 199, 205, 209.  
*fortitudo*, 31, 70, 86, 99, 211.  
*fulgor*, 114, 156, 160, 164, 217, 228.
- Gens*, 29, 30, 104, 128.  
*gentes*, 85, 86, 87, 103, 112, 117, 124, 163, 195, 199, 201.  
*gentiles*, 75, 78.  
*gloria*, 19, 29, 35, 229.  
— *caelestis*, 43, 52, 54, 64, 71, 88, 106, 126, 148, 181, 211.  
— *falsa*, 31, 52, 73.  
— *futura*, 176, 177.  
— *humana*, 42, 126.  
— *muliebris*, 36, 41.  
— *nova*, 34, 90.  
— *paterna*, 151, 216.  
— *popularis*, 47, 48, 49, 82.  
— *saecularis*, 42, 44, 45, 52, 64.  
— *terrena*, 50.  
— *turpis*, 38, 42.  
— *vana*, 32, 37, 42, 43, 47, 48, 52, 128.  
— *ventosa*, 34.  
— *vera*, 31, 32, 52, 73, 100.  
— *Vestra*, 46, 99, 100, 104.  
— *apud Deum*, 104, 129, 189, 223.  
— *castitatis*, 99.  
— *Christi*, 110, 137, 148, 153—175, 191—208, 220, 222, 224.  
— *confessionis*, 99.  
— *crucis*, 110, 114, 121, 176.  
— *Dei*, 54, 82, 108—114, 143, 164, 176, 178, 187—191, 198, 209, 227.  
— *dialectorum*, 44.  
— *ecclesiae*, 70.  
— *episcopatus*, 100, 102, 107.  
— *exilii*, 75.  
— *hominum*, 51, 175—181, 208—211.  
— *imperatoris*, 104, 115.  
— *imperii*, 100.  
— *integritatis*, 99.  
— *maiorum*, 30, 128.  
— *martyrum*, 38, 53—95, 112, 219.  
— *ordinis*, 32.  
— *passionis*, 94, 99, 111, 114, 116, 155.  
— *philosophorum*, 51.  
— *placendi Deo*, 55.  
— *praedicandi*, 102.  
— *regis*, 113, 114, 116, 118.  
— *resurrectionis*, 97, 109, 155, 179, 206.  
— *sacerdotii*, 99, 107.  
— *saeculi*, 45.  
— *stellarum*, 26, 140.  
— *viduitatis*, 99.  
— *virginitatis*, 97, 227.  
— *virtutis*, 97, 176, 180, 219, 222.

- gloriabundus*, 52, 53.  
*gloriarī*, 29, 47, 51, 53, 79, 87, 96,  
 126, 140, 188, 189, 190, 195,  
 210, 213, 215.  
*glorificare*, 19, 22, 24, 111—113,  
 183, 187—190, 195, 210, 213,  
 215.  
*glorificatio*, 112, 192, 194—200.  
*gloriosissimus*, 46, 52, 99, 100, 104,  
 114, 211.  
*gloriosus*, 22, 31, 45, 48, 52, 69,  
 100, 104, 112, 177, 183, 187,  
 227.  
*gratia*, 1, 51, 177, 187, 197, 208.  
*gratificata*, 21.  
*gravitas*, 6, 142, 147.  
  
*Haereticus*, 41, 51, 114.  
*honor*, 19, 20, 38, 39, 75, 76, 87,  
 88, 94, 101, 106, 109, 202, 209,  
 212.  
*honorare*, 22, 72, 88, 97.  
*honoratus*, 19, 187.  
*honorificare*, 19, 22, 94, 183.  
*honorificentia*, 183.  
*humanitas*, 191, 217.  
*humilitas*, 41, 86, 97, 154, 186,  
 191—201, 207, 212, 218.  
  
*Ignominia*, 74, 86, 109, 137, 186,  
 191, 202.  
*illuminare*, 25, 143, 156, 160, 164,  
 178, 185, 210.  
*illuminatio*, 25.  
*illustrare*, 89, 136, 149, 185.  
*illustratio*, 228.  
*illustris*, 30, 33, 70, 79, 106, 107,  
 114.  
*imago*, 30, 54, 153, 176, 178, 179.  
*immortalitas*, 72, 74, 164.  
  
*imperator*, 46, 52, 68, 86, 89, 99,  
 111, 123, 203, 225.  
*infirmitas*, 136, 186, 191, 193, 206,  
 207, 216, 219.  
*inglorius*, 39.  
*insignia*, 75, 83, 121.  
*invidia*, 32, 36.  
  
*lactantia*, 82.  
*iudex*, 69, 72, 84, 98, 207.  
  
*Laudabilis*, 48, 71, 82, 104, 168.  
*laudare*, 22, 48, 84, 87, 98, 102, 111,  
 181.  
 — *Deum*, 22, 210.  
*laudatio*, 48.  
*laus*, 32, 33, 35, 38, 49—64, 69, 70,  
 98—102, 107, 112, 182, 186,  
 189, 210.  
*lumen*, 143, 185, 201, 204, 211.  
 — *aeternum*, 156, 164.  
 — *novum*, 169, 170, 171.  
 — *verum*, 157, 159, 163, 164, 167,  
 228.  
 — *immortalitatis*, 164.  
 — *scientiae*, 169.  
*luna*, 25, 143, 164—168, 205, 206.  
 — *vera*, 164.  
*lux*, 88, 143, 164, 165, 167, 168,  
 205, 206.  
 — *aeterna*, 72, 151.  
 — *falsa*, 149, 168.  
 — *immortalis*, 178.  
 — *nova*, 157, 166, 169, 170, 215,  
 228.  
 — *perpetua*, 164.  
 — *divinitatis*, 163.  
 — *scientiae*, 167.  
*luxuria*, 42, 103.

*Magnalia*, 146.  
*magnificare*, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 56,  
 142, 183, 186, 190, 197, 199.  
*magnificentia*, 142, 186, 188—190,  
 195, 197, 202.  
*magnificus*, 188.  
*magnitudo*, 37, 98.  
*magnus*, 21, 37, 49, 64, 128, 186,  
 188, 207.  
*maiestas*, 6, 19, 21, 25, 111, 141,  
 150, 152, 176, 183, 186, 190,  
 196, 206, 216, 219.  
 — *angelica*, 146.  
 — *divina*, 142, 146.  
 — *Domini*, 26, 123.  
 — *Spiritus sancti*, 218.  
*martyr*, 54—95.  
*martyrium*, 54—60, 65, 68, 110.  
*memoria*, 50, 54, 81, 89.  
*merces*, 50, 54, 63, 178.  
*meritum*, 65, 75, 87, 95, 98, 111,  
 116, 149, 194, 208.  
*miles*, 31, 53, 60, 68, 72, 80, 101,  
 111.  
*militare*, 60, 110.  
*militia*, 63, 64, 80, 83, 124, 140,  
 160.  
*miraculum*, 89, 117, 146, 154, 199,  
 228.  
*moderatio*, 32, 45, 82, 128.  
*modestia*, 41.  
*mysterium*, 149, 160, 161, 165, 205,  
 228.  
*Negator*, 95.  
*negotiatio*, 61.  
*nobilitas*, 45, 108, 181.  
*notitia*, 49, 113, 193, 203.  
*Obprobrium*, 85, 86, 155.

*opinio*, 11, 36, 51, 148.  
*Palma*, 69, 97, 101, 181.  
*paradisus*, 72.  
*passio*, 66, 72, 79, 80, 82, 98, 107,  
 110, 112, 143, 181, 217.  
*pax*, 13, 35, 46, 49, 71, 88, 97—101,  
 104, 159, 164.  
*persecutio*, 66, 78, 101, 109, 164,  
 181, 206.  
*pietas*, 33, 46, 82, 83, 86, 88.  
*poena*, 74, 75, 81, 83, 120.  
*potentia*, 44, 89, 154, 215, 219.  
*potestas*, 26, 68, 94, 109, 111, 114,  
 137, 186, 190, 194, 214.  
*praeda*, 63.  
*praediscare*, 55, 56, 176, 197, 199.  
*praemium*, 29, 62, 63, 72, 74, 87,  
 96, 98, 116, 194.  
*proelior*, 84.  
*proelium*, 54, 68, 79.  
*protector*, 68.  
*providentia*, 46, 82.  
*pugna*, 63, 101, 111, 143.  
*Rebellis*, 26.  
*refrigerium*, 139, 181, 212.  
*regnum caelorum*, 72, 85, 144, 176.  
*requies*, 149, 176, 178, 181, 210.  
*respublica*, 29, 32, 37, 128.  
*Sacramentum*, 60, 68, 86, 89, 90,  
 153.  
*salus*, 41, 46, 47, 53, 72, 101, 158,  
 217.  
*sanctitas*, 142.  
*sanctus*, 50, 81, 88, 103, 109, 128,  
 137, 177, 182, 198, 201, 227.  
*sanguis*, 61, 63, 76, 86, 87, 95, 115.  
*scientia*, 25, 150, 160, 161, 166.

- sol*, 25, 144, 172, 173, 176, 204, 206, 211.  
 — *aeternus*, 158, 163, 164.  
 — *mysticus*, 161.  
 — *novus*, 157, 158, 169, 170.  
 — *oriens*, 143, 159.  
 — *resurgens*, 159.  
 — *verus*, 170.  
 — *iniquitatis*, 158, 159.  
 — *iustitiae*, 156—168, 174, 205, 207.  
 — *tentationis*, 168.  
*spectaculum*, 42, 75, 109, 137.  
*splendor*, 49, 149, 151, 162, 164, 175, 177, 180, 207, 215, 217.  
*superbia*, 51, 82, 103, 194.  
  
*Tenebrae*, 144, 149, 163, 164, 185, 205.  
*testificari*, 56.  
*testimonium*, 57, 64, 71, 81, 94.  
*thronus claritatis*, 19.  
*tolerantia*, 66, 79.  
*tranquillitas*, 45, 178, 181, 199.  
  
*triumphalis*, 79, 123.  
*triumphare*, 44, 72, 83, 97, 103, 104, 109, 110, 111, 116, 120, 137, 156.  
*triumphator*, 156, 228.  
*triumphus*, 32, 46, 76, 91, 97, 100, 114, 120, 154, 156, 228.  
*tropaeum*, 60, 79, 80, 94, 114, 121, 126, 155, 156.  
  
*Verbum*, 57, 154, 173.  
*victor*, 79, 87, 91, 113, 114, 123, 156, 181, 228.  
*victoria*, 44, 46, 63, 70, 84, 85, 86, 88, 95, 101, 111, 116, 202, 228.  
*videre Deum*, 72, 177, 178, 209.  
*virtus*, 19, 26, 29, 31, 33, 46, 47, 49, 50, 64, 65, 70, 82, 97, 114, 121, 128, 150, 154, 190, 210.  
*vita aeterna*, 51, 69, 74, 96, 101, 140, 178, 210, 211.  
*vita beata*, 177, 178, 181, 212.  
*vulnus*, 78, 79, 144.



## STELLINGEN

### I

Het is niet te bewijzen, dat reeds vóór het ontstaan van de Septuagintvertaling van de bijbel *δόξα* in het Grieks de betekenis van licht heeft gehad.

Cf. J. SCHNEIDER, *Doxa*, Gutersloh 1932, p. 22.

### II

De oudste Latijnse bijbelvertalingen, meestal aangeduid met de verzamelnaam *Vetus Latina*, zijn niet steeds het werk geweest van minder ontwikkelde personen: deze vertalingen bevatten ook voorbeelden van een zeer zuiver begrip voor de tekstinhoud en van echte vertaalkunst.

### III

De lichtsymboliek in de Romeinse liturgie is grotendeels een erfenis van de christenheid der vierde eeuw.

### IV

Als equivalent van het homerische *κλέος* gebruikt Vergilius liever *fama* dan *gloria*.

### V

Het veelvuldig gebruik van *claritas* in de liturgie is te danken aan invloed van de oudste Latijnse bijbelvertalingen.

### VI

Het feit dat in de oudchristelijke kunst de martelaren de krans steeds in hun handen dragen, duidt erop dat de christenen de wijze waarop de krans bij de heidense cultus gedragen werd, bewust gemeden hebben.



## VII

Er is geen enkele reden om aan te nemen, dat *gloria* reeds in het klassieke Latijn de betekenis van glans of licht heeft gehad.

Cf. M. STEINHEIMER, *Die Δόξα τοῦ θεοῦ in der römischen Liturgie*, Munch. Theol. Stud., II, 4, München 1951, p. 16.

## VIII

Het is zeer waarschijnlijk, dat reeds vóór de bisschopswijding van Ambrosius het Kerstfeest te Milaan op 25 december gevierd werd.

## IX

De tendens om de *visio Dei* te beschouwen als het wezenlijke element van het hemels geluk is door neoplatoonse ideeën gestimuleerd.

## X

Er bestaat gevaar, dat men de invloed van het neoplatonisme op Ambrosius en Augustinus overschat.

## XI

Op syntactische gronden is het zeer waarschijnlijk, dat de Latijnse tekst van de *Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis* ouder is dan de Griekse.

## XII

In de oude liturgische gebeden worden de benamingen van Gods eigenschappen niet alleen gebruikt om de betreffende eigenschappen van God aan te duiden, maar ook vaak als aanduidingen van God Zelf. In dit gebruik valt invloed van de keizercultus op de liturgie waar te nemen.

### XIII

Het is hoogst onwaarschijnlijk, dat in de vierde eeuw na Christus de bisschoppen als zodanig lid waren van de keizerlijke adel. Men kan derhalve niet verdedigen, dat de eretekenen van de bisschoppen door hen oorspronkelijk als profane insignia gedragen zijn.

Cf. TH. KLAUSER, *Der Ursprung der bischöflichen Insignien und Ehrenrechte*, Bonner Akad. Reden, 1, Krefeld, z.j.

### XIV

De woorden *obsequium servitutis meae* zijn een specimen van de voorkeur van het liturgisch Latijn om concrete personen met een abstractum aan te duiden. Men vertale derhalve: 'de hulde van mij, Uw dienaar'.

*Missale Romanum, Ordo Missae*, gebed *Placeat Tibi, sancta Trinitas*.

### XV

Het veelvuldig gebruik van de eerste persoon pluralis in de oude liturgische gebeden is een stilistische eigenschap van het oud-christelijk liturgisch Latijn, en duidt niet op de gewoonte van concelebratie.

### XVI

De argumenten van PöSCHL voor zijn these, dat Vergilius de lotgevallen van Aeneas bewust en met opzet beschrijft als symbolen van 'kosmische Schicksalgesetze', zijn onvoldoende.

V. PöSCHL, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils*, Wiesbaden 1950, p. 41 vv.

### XVII

Doordat Euripides een zeer nauw verband legt tussen σοφία en σωφροσύνη, heeft het begrip σωφροσύνη bij hem een vrij sterk intellectualistisch karakter.

## XVIII

Medea 407—409 kan men niet gebruiken als argument voor de stelling, dat Euripides de vrouw minacht; in deze verzen wil Euripides een vraagstuk van zijn tijd aan de orde stellen op een manier die discussie uit moet lokken.

## XIX

De keizerlijke iconografie heeft de iconografie van Christus vooral beïnvloed wat betreft de compositie, maar slechts zeer selectief wat betreft de figuur van Christus Zelf en de attributen waarmee Hij getooid wordt.

## XX

Het afbeelden van rijen martelaren in oudchristelijke baptisteria wijst op het nauwe verband, dat de eerste christenen zagen tussen de doop als het *sacramentum militiae christianae* en het martelaarschap als de roemrijke eindfase van deze levensstrijd.

